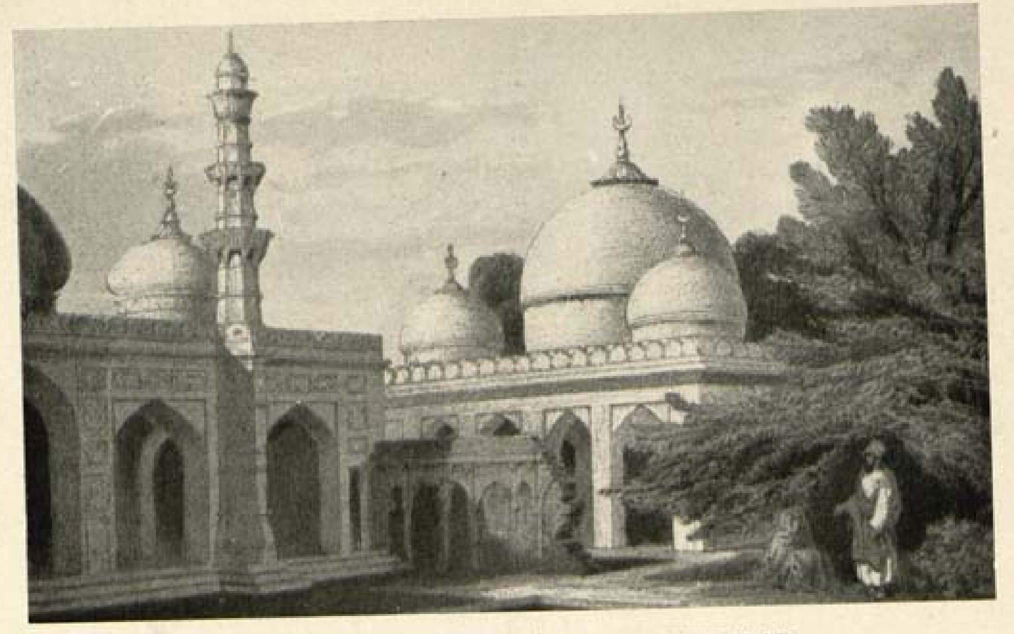
RÂS MÂLÂ

PLATE I



TOMB OF SHOOJĀT KHĀN AT AHMEDABAD

RÂS MÂLÂ

रास माला

Hindoo Annals of the Province
of Goozerat in Western India

By ALEXANDER KINLOCH FORBES
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EDITED WITH HISTORICAL NOTES AND APPENDICES

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Indian Educational Service

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BOOK III

RÂS MÂLÂ

CHAPTER I

FROM THE FIRST APPEARANCE OF THE MAHRATTAS IN GOOZERAT TO THE CAPTURE OF AHMEDABAD.[1]

EARLY in the eighteenth century, Khundee Row Dhâbâree,[2] the Senâputee of the Mahratta empire, began to pour his predatory horse into Goozerat, and exact tribute from that province. At first he hung about the neighbourhood of the city of Shah Ahmed; but afterwards, retiring for a time therefrom, he

[1] The information contained in this, and the next following chapter is almost entirely taken from Grant Duff's *History of the Mahrattas*, and Forbes's *Oriental Memoirs*. [James Cunningham Grant Duff, 1789–1858, came to India in 1805, and was posted to the 1st Bombay Native Infantry. He became Assistant to Mountstuart Elphinstone, British Resident at Poona, and was present at the battle of Khirkee, 1817, and the operations resulting in the overthrow of the last Peshwa. He was then made Resident at Sātāra, where he had unique opportunities to collect matter for his great work the *History of the Mahrattas*, which he published in 1826. It was reprinted in 1863, 1873, 1878, 1912, and 1921. James Forbes, author of the *Oriental Memoirs*, was born in 1749, and went to Bombay as a 'writer' in the service of the Company in 1765. In 1775 he accompanied the British mission sent to support Rāgoba in Gujarāt, serving in the capacity of Private Secretary to Colonel Keating. In 1780 he became Collector of Dabhōi, and two years later, when the town was ceded to the Marāthas (as described in the quotations from his *Oriental Memoirs* in chapter ii of the present work, *infra*), he returned to England. He was travelling on the Continent at the time of the rupture of the treaty of Amiens and was detained in France till 1804. His daughter Eliza, who married a member of the Montalembert family, had a son, the famous Charles de Montalembert, the Catholic historian (*b.* 1810). The *Oriental Memoirs* appeared in 4 volumes, 1813–15, and Forbes died at Aix-La-Chapelle in 1819.]

[2] [The founder of the family was Yeśpātil Dābhāḍe, Mukaddam of Talegāon near Poona. He was a Marātha by caste, and was tutor to Sambhāji and Rājārām, the sons of Śivājī. His son, Khanderāo, fought against the Moghals for Rājārām and was made *Senāpati*, or commander-in-chief, by Bālājī Viśvanāth, the first Peshwa.]

effected a more permanent establishment in the strong country about Nandode and Râjpeepla, from whence he commanded the principal routes for traffic between Goozerat and the Dekkan. At the battle of Balapoor,[1] fought in A. D. 1730, the troops of Dhâbâree distinguished themselves by their bravery, and on that field a chieftain first obtained renown, whose name was destined to exercise no unimportant influence on the affairs of Goozerat. Dâmâjee Guikowâr [2] was now appointed to command under the Senâputee, and was ennobled by the title of Shumsher Buhâdur.

Both Khundee Row and his newly-appointed lieutenant died soon after they had attained this success. Trimbuk Row Dhâbâree was then honoured with the dress of Senâputee, in succession to his father, and Peelâjee, the son of Junkojee Guikowâr, obtained the command which had been held by his uncle, Dâmâjee. A few years afterwards, Oodâjee Powâr, another active partisan leader, brought his Mahratta horse into Goozerat and Malwa, plundering the former province as far as Loonâwârâ, and laying the foundations, in the latter, of a power imitating the name and possessing the royal seat of the dynasty of Bhoj.[3] Shoojât Khân was at this time appointed the deputy, in Goozerat, of Sur Boolund Khân, the imperial viceroy, and he was opposed by Hâmed Khân, on the part of his nephew, Nizâm-ool-Moolk, who had lately been deposed from the government of the province.[4] Hâmed Khân, by a

[1] [The correct date is 1720. The Nizām-ul Mulk had proclaimed himself independent and had defeated an army sent against him by the Sayyids, who at that time (1713–20) were the 'king-makers' at Delhi. At Bālāpur in Berār the Imperial Army under Ālam Ali Khān was again cut up, with the loss of its leader. 'On this occasion the Mahrattas behaved as faithful auxiliaries, and fought with bravery; they lost no person of note except Shunkrajee Mulhar, who was mortally wounded, and made prisoner.' Grant Duff, *History of the Mahrattas*, ed. 1921, i, 349, and cf. p. 353.]

[2] [The Gāikwār family came originally from the village of Dhāvdi near Poona, in the Khed district. According to one old story the first Gaikwār was the Senāpati's *jāsūd*, or confidential messenger, Marāthi *jāsūd* being a corruption of Ar.-Pers. *jāsūs*, 'a spy'.]

[3] [See Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, i, 359.]

[4] [In 1722 Jumlat ul Mulk, Nizām ul Mulk, was appointed 51st Viceroy of Gujarāt. He made his uncle Hāmid Khān Deputy Viceroy, and

promise of '*the chouth*,' succeeded in procuring the assistance of the Mahratta leader, Kuntâjee Kuddum Bhanday,[1] and these two officers, joining their forces, attacked, defeated, and slew Shoojât Khân, within a few miles of the capital of Goozerat. When this event occurred, Roostum Ulee, the brother of Shoojât Khân, held the office of military governor of Surat, and had just gained advantages over Peelâjee Guikowâr, in the neighbourhood of that city.

Hearing of his brother's defeat and death, Roostum Ulee made a truce with his Mahratta opponent, and invited him to join in an attack upon Hâmed Khân. The wily Mahratta accepted his overtures, though already engaged by the emissaries of his adversary, and accompanied him towards Ahmedabad until he could ascertain precisely which side it would be most advantageous for him to join. The confederates crossed the Myhee at Fuzilpoor, and advanced to Ârâs. Hâmed Khân here attacked them, but was driven back by the fire of Roostum Ulee's artillery. By this time, however, Peelâjee Guikowâr had chosen his side; he therefore recommended Roostum Ulee to charge the fugitives, leaving the guns to his care. The gallant Mohummedan had no sooner followed this fatal advice than his guns were overturned, and his troops attacked in the rear by his treacherous ally. Roostum Ulee defended himself for some time with bravery, but his reduced numbers showed him the impossibility of escape, and dreading the ignominious

Mūmin Khān Governor of Surat. Becoming disgusted with his treatment at Court, he retired to the Dekhan and declared himself independent, whereupon the Emperor Muhammad Shāh made Sarbuland Khān Viceroy with Shujāat Khān as Deputy Viceroy. War then broke out between the rival factions, as Hāmid Khān refused to be deposed.]

[1] [Kantājī Kadam Bānde, an officer of Rājā Śāhu, had been sent to Mālwā and entered Gujarāt by the north-east; he ravaged the country round Dohad, and in 1723 levied the first *regular* Marātha tribute on that district. *Chauth* was one of the three great grants wrung from the Imperial Court by Bālājī Viśvānāth, the Peshwa, in 1719. They were the *Chauth*, or one-fourth of the revenues of the Dekhan; *Sardeśmukhi*, or one-tenth over and above the *Chauth*; and *Svarājya*, or autonomy, in the districts held by Śivājī at his death. The Marāthas pretended that they were also given the *Chauth* of Gujarāt and Mālwā at the same time, but this assertion is unconfirmed. See Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, i, 337–9.]

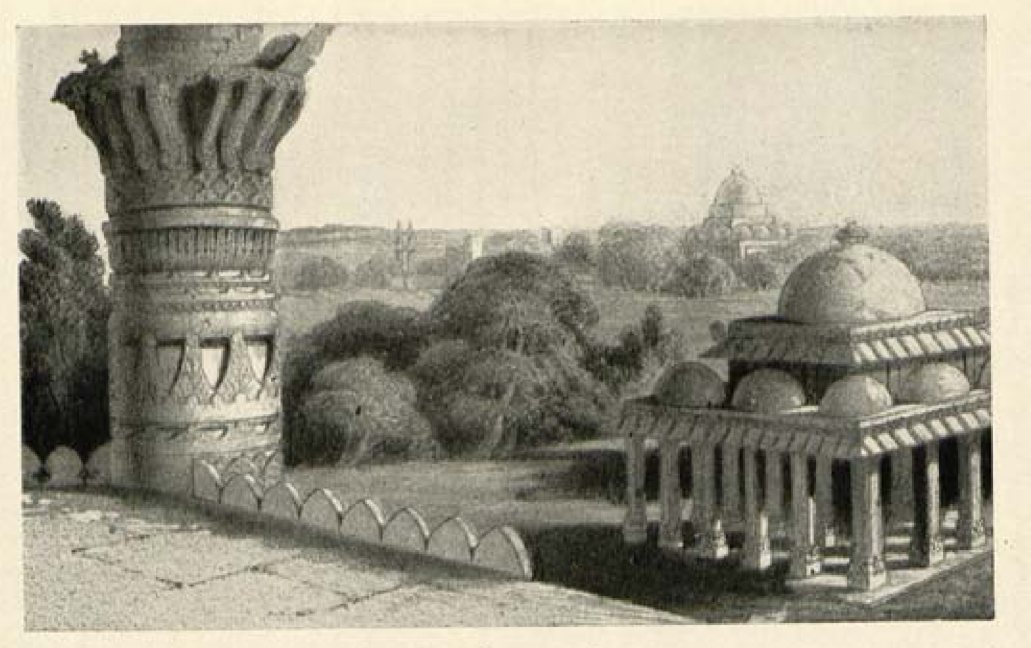
treatment to which he knew he should be exposed as a prisoner, he stabbed himself to the heart.

Peelâjee's treachery was rewarded by an equal share of the chouth with Kuntâjee; and both, in conjunction, proceeded to levy their assignments; but the division of the money led to perpetual disputes. For some time these differences only produced heavier impositions on the towns and villages. When, however, the Mahratta leaders approached Cambay, and began, as usual, to burn the suburbs for the purpose of intimidation, the inhabitants, aware of their dissensions, and affecting to consider Kuntâjee the superior, sent a messenger to Peelâjee hinting this circumstance, and offering him a sum of money to retire. Peelâjee, exasperated by the insult, confined the messenger; Kuntâjee insisted on his being released, and both flew to arms to assert their prerogative. After a severe conflict, within sight of the walls, Peelâjee was discomfited, and retired to Mâtur, near Kaira. The contribution from Cambay was levied by the victor. The sum of five thousand rupees having been demanded from the English factory, the agents pleaded exemption, in consequence of privilege of trade from the 'Shao Raja,' but at this 'the armed villains,' as Mr. Innes, the chief of the factory, in bitterness of heart, terms them, 'only 'laughed.'[1]

Hâmed Khân, foreseeing the desertion of one or other of his allies, made them sign an agreement, by which the chouth, east of the Myhee, was assigned to Peelâjee, and that to the west, to Kuntâjee. The Mahrattas still preserved their original custom of retiring to quarters during the rainy season, and soon after the battle at Cambay, Peelâjee retired to Songurh, near Surat, and Kuntâjee to a district which he held in Candeish.

Sur Boolund Khân, an excellent and popular officer, who had been unjustly removed from Cabul, was at this season of difficulty courted by the emperor, and earnestly solicited to repair to his government in Goozerat, for the purpose of suppressing the formidable insurrection of Hâmed Khân. A large army was soon assembled under his command, and he proceeded on his route to Ahmedabad in A. D. 1725. Hâmed

[1] [Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, i, 364.]



THE SHÂHEE BÂGH
From the Terrace of a Mosque

Khân, despairing of being joined by the Mahrattas, left Ahmedabad defended by a weak garrison, and retired before the advanced division of the army of Sur Boolund. The Mahrattas had, however, crossed the Myhee, and as they joined him at Mahmoodabad, he retraced his steps to the capital. A party in the city, favorable to the new governor, having overpowered his garrison, and forced them out, Hâmed Khân encamped at the Shâhee Bâgh on the same day that the advanced guard of Sur Boolund Khân arrived at Udâlej. The rebel leader obtained a victory over this force, which had been pushed too far in advance, but his advantage was dearly purchased, and the Mahrattas could not be brought to risk another battle. Hâmed Khân became, therefore, a mere plunderer like themselves, and though military officers were appointed to the command of each district, and arrangements made with more than ordinary vigour by the new governor, Kuntâjee and Peelâjee continued to plunder during the remainder of the season, until at the approach of the rains they took their annual flight. 'A deceitful calm,' says the historian of Muhârâshtra, 'succeeded ;—the fall of the rain brought back the cheering 'green ; and the beautiful province of Goozerat, which, for 'hundreds of miles, may vie with the finest parks of the nobles 'of England, was clothed, in all its natural beauties, by rapid 'verdure and luxuriant vegetation. Tranquillity seemed to 'reign, where, a short time before, nothing was to be seen but 'perpetual skirmishing ; murder and robbery in open day ; 'caravans pillaged even when strongly escorted, and villages 'burning or deserted.'[1]

Sur Boolund Khân exerted himself to check the incursions of the Mahrattas, and he repeatedly applied to Court for a supply of money, the exhausted state of the country under his care rendering it impossible to raise at first any revenue of consequence. His demands, however, being entirely neglected, he next endeavoured to conciliate Peelâjee and Kuntâjee by grants of chouth, but this attempt also failed, the Mahratta leaders collecting all the revenue, but affording no protection to the country. At length Chimnâjee Âppâ, the brother of the

[1] [Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, i, 366.]

Peshwah Bâjee Row,[1] arriving with a large army, plundered Dholka, and exacted a heavy contribution from Pitlâd. He promised, however, on the part of his brother, that if concessions were made to him, the country should be effectually secured from the depredations of all other freebooters. Sur Boolund Khân at length agreed to the Peshwah's proposals, after stipulating that two thousand five hundred Mahratta horse should constantly be kept up, and that every assistance should be afforded in maintaining the imperial authority. Bâjee Row further agreed on the part of Raja Sâhoo, to prevent Mahratta subjects from taking part with or in any way supporting disaffected zumeendârs and other disturbers of the public peace, a clause apparently particularly aimed at Peelâjee Guikowâr, who had leagued himself with the Bheels and Koolees of the country, and was on that account considered particularly formidable by the Mohummedans.

No sooner had the Peshwah obtained these terms from Sur Boolund Khân than Trimbuk Row Dhâbâree commenced to negotiate with the other Mahratta leaders, and to assemble troops in Goozerat. At length, finding himself at the head of thirty-five thousand men, and having secured the support of Nizâm-ool-Moolk, he arranged his plans for an invasion of the

[1] [The term *Peshwa*, or Prime Minister, is Persian, and was introduced into the Dekhan by the Bahmanī kings. Burhān Khān Nizām Shāh of Ahmadnagar conferred it on a Brāhman named Kavarsingh in 1529. (Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, i, 61.) Under Śivājī, the office was revived in 1656, Śamrāj Pant becoming the Peshwa, or head of the *Ashta Pradhān* (Council of Eight). Śivājī, in order to encourage the national spirit, changed the Persian titles of his officials for Marāthi ones after his coronation in 1676, and the Peshwa was known for a time as the *Mukhya Pradhān*. In 1714 Rājā Śāhu made Bālājī Viśvanāth Peshwa, and this great minister, about four years later, wrung from the Imperial Court the epoch-making grant which recognized the independence of the Marāthas. In 1720 Bālājī was succeeded in his office by his son Bājirāo I, who in 1740 was in his turn succeeded by Bālājī Bājirāo. On the death of Rājā Śāhu in 1749, Bālājī Bājīrāo brought off his famous *coup d'état*, which reduced the House of Śivājī to the position of mere *rois fainéants*, state prisoners at Sātāra, while the Peshwas ruled in their name at Poona. The Peshwas were Chitpâvan Brahmans by caste, and their domination was bitterly resented by the great Marātha families, the Gaikwārs, Dābhādes, and others, as well as by Tārābāi, Rājārām's widow.]

Dekkan. He was supported by Peelâjee Guikowâr, by Kuntâjee and Rughoojee Kuddum Bhanday, by Oodâjee and Ânund Row Powâr, and by many other officers, and he proclaimed that he was proceeding to the Dekkan, to protect from the Peshwah's ambition the authority of Sâhoo Raja. Bâjee Row determined to anticipate his opponents. His army was far inferior in numerical strength, but was composed of the old Págah [1] horse, and of some of the best of the famed Mahratta Mânkurees. He advanced therefore rapidly towards Goozerat, and had soon crossed the Nerbudda. Here his vanguard came into collision with a party of the enemy under the command of Dâmâjee, the son of Peelâjee Guikowâr, and was completely defeated. This check, however, did not discourage Bâjee Row. He continued his advance, and at last met his enemy at a place between the cities of Dubhoee and Baroda, both then held by Peelâjee Guikowâr, where he gained the decisive victory which gave him all but nominal control of the Mahratta sovereignty.[2]

This important battle was fought upon the first of April, A. D. 1731. Bâjee Row, when about to engage his countrymen, determined, contrary to his usual plan, to close with them immediately. The new levies of the Senâputee did not await the shock, but fled at the first charge. Kuntâjee Kuddum Bhanday joined them in their flight, and soon the veterans of Khundee Row Dhâbâree were alone left to protect his son. Bâjee Row fought on horseback, and exerted himself with all the energy so great an occasion required. His opponent was mounted on an elephant, and, beholding the flight of his troops, commanded the animal's legs to be chained. The field was disputed with obstinacy, and the issue was still doubtful, when

[1] [The Marātha horse, so celebrated in history, may be divided into three classes:

1. Khāsi Pāga, or Household Cavalry, mounted on horses provided by the State; a very fine body of light horse, which took a leading part in the Marātha wars.

2. Sillādār Cavalry, providing their own equipment and chargers.

3. The Pindāris and other irregulars, who haunted the Marātha camps and spread like a cloud round their armies on the march, plundering far and wide.]

[2] [See Grant Duff, i, 376 ff.]

Trimbuk Row, as he drew his bow-string to his ear, was slain by a random matchlock ball.

The victory gained, Bâjee Row, at the suggestion of Sur Boolund Khân, prepared to reduce Baroda,—the possessor of which, Peelâjee Guikowâr, had escaped wounded from the field. An accommodation was, however, come to in the month of August, and the Peshwah, at the close of the rainy season, returned to Satara.

The victory over Dhâbâree, like the issue of every civil war, left impressions on the minds of many, which were not easily effaced. The Peshwah, however, adopted every means of conciliation in his power. Among other measures, Yeshwunt Row, the young son of the deceased, was raised to the rank of Senâputee, under the guardianship of his mother; and Peelâjee Guikowâr, their former lieutenant, was confirmed in that situation, assuming the title of Senâ-Khâs-Kheyl, in addition to his hereditary one of Shumsher Buhâdur. In order to prevent disputes, an agreement was drawn up under the authority of Sâhoo Raja, and subscribed by the Peshwah and the Senâputee, which stipulated that neither party should enter the possessions of the other in Goozerat and Malwa. Within the limits of the former province, the Senâputee was to have the entire management; but he bound himself to pay one-half of the revenue to the Satara government, through the Peshwah.

Although no attempt had been made to assist Sur Boolund Khân, or to avert the calamity and disgrace which that officer foretold must be the consequence of neglecting his applications for assistance, the concessions made in Goozerat were highly disapproved of by the imperial Court, and the Khân was superseded by Ubhye Singh Râthor, Raja of Marwar, who proceeded with an army to take possession of his new government. Sur Boolund Khân opposed him for some time, but at last retired to Delhi, where he was extremely ill-used, and unworthily disgraced.

The district of Broach was at this time held by an officer named Abdoolah Beg, as military governor under Sur Booland Khân. It had been formerly assigned to Nizâm-ool-Moolk, as one of the districts of his personal estate, and Abdoolah Beg now placed himself under the authority of the Nizâm, from

whom he received the title of Nek Alum Khân, and neither acknowledged Ubhye Singh nor admitted the pretensions of the Mahrattas.

In A. D. 1732, Ubhye Singh's officer recovered the fort of Baroda. The cause of Peelâjee Guikowâr was, however, popular. He took the field, gained several victories, and occupied many of the principal fortified places. The Râthor chief at last determined upon despatching him, and, on pretence of arranging a final agreement, sent emissaries to him with that intention. These persons met Peelâjee at Dâkor, a village in the district of Tâsrâ, celebrated for its shrine of Shree Runchor. They had frequent interviews with him, to disarm suspicion. At length having sat one evening until dusk, they took leave, and quitted the Guikowâr's tent. One of the number, on pretence of having omitted some communication of importance, returned, and, affecting to whisper in Peelâjee's ear, stabbed him to the heart with a dagger.

The assassination of Peelâjee Guikowâr failed, however, to secure the advantages expected by Ubhye Singh. The Koolees and Bheels instigated by the Desâee of Pâdurâ, near Baroda, who had lived in friendship with Peelâjee, rose all over the country; Mahâdajee Guikowâr, the brother of Peelâjee, advanced from Jumbooseer, and re-took Baroda, which has ever since remained in the hands of the Guikowâr family; and Dâmâjee, the eldest son of the murdered chief, advanced with a large force from Songurh,[1] occupied many of the principal districts in the east of Goozerat, and pushing his incursions as far as Jodhpoor, compelled Ubhye Singh to resign Ahmedabad to a deputy that he might return homewards for the protection of his hereditary dominions.

Dâmâjee Guikowâr now established himself in Goozerat, and, two years afterwards, compelled his father's rival, Kuntâjee Kuddum Bhanday, to quit the province. Kuntâjee, however, the next year, A. D. 1735, persuaded Holkar to join him in an

[1] [Songarh was an old Bhīl stronghold, on the western skirts of the Dāng forest, 21° 10′ N., 73° 36′ E., and between forty and fifty miles from Surat. It was seized by Pilāji in 1719, and became the head-quarters of his marauding forces until Dāmāji moved to Pattan in 1766. It has been well called the cradle of the Gāikwār family in Gujarāt.]

inroad upon Goozerat; they appeared unexpectedly; plundered several towns to the north of Ahmedabad, levied contributions at Eedur and Pâhlunpoor, and as far as the Bunâs; and departed as suddenly as they had come. Ubhye Singh was shortly afterwards formally removed from the government of Goozerat, but his deputy, Bhundâree Rutun-shee, refused to evacuate the city of Ahmedabad, and Nujeeb-ood-Dowlah Momin Khân, the newly appointed governor, was compelled to solicit the aid of Dâmâjee Guikowâr in order to expel him. The Guikowâr and Momin Khân exchanged turbans,[1] and the Mahratta chief sent a force under an agent, named Rungâjee, with his new ally to expel Rutun-shee; the confederates were repulsed, in an assault upon the city, but Rutun-shee at last surrendered. Rungâjee and Momin Khân obtained possession of Ahmedabad, about the 20th of May, 1737, and an equal share of authority and revenue was assigned to the Moguls and Mahrattas, an arrangement which, as might have been expected, occasioned constant disputes. In the same year, the emperor having at last prevailed on Nizâm-ool-Moolk to repair to court, the governments of Malwa and Goozerat were once more restored to that chieftain in the name of his eldest son, Ghâzee-ood-deen,—the conditions being that he should drive the Mahrattas from those provinces. These conditions, however, he was unable to fulfil, and after a contest with his able opponent the Peshwah Bâjee Row, Nizâm-ool-moolk was compelled to sign a convention by which he promised to procure the emperor's confirmation to the grant to Bâjee Row of the whole province of Malwa, and the complete sovereignty of the territory between the Chumbul and the Nerbudda.

Dâmâjee Guikowâr henceforth possessed very considerable resources. He wielded, as agent of the widow of Trimbuk Row, the whole power of the party of Dhâbâree, for Yeshwunt Row, even when his age entitled him to claim that position, was altogether incompetent to act as its leader. Dâmâjee continued to levy all the usual Mahratta dues in Goozerat, and an annual tribute from Kâteewâr, until the death of Momin Khân in February, 1743. Ubdool Uzeez Khân, the new governor,

[1] [Exchange of turbans means adoption as a brother (Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i. 432).]

appointed by an imperial edict, was then at Aurungabad, in the Dekkan; he raised immediately a few thousand men, and, marching to assume the charge of his new government, passed Surat, and arrived at Unkulesur, near Broach. At this place, however, he was suddenly attacked by the partisans of Dâmâjee and his party totally destroyed. Fukheer-ood-Dowlah was next sent from Delhi to take charge of Ahmedabad (A. D. 1744), but a detachment of Dâmâjee's troops, under Rungâjee, opposed him, and prevented his obtaining possession. Dâmâjee was at this time absent at Satara, and his brother, Khundee Row, taking advantage of the opportunity made several important changes, removing Rungâjee, and appointing an agent of his own at Ahmedabad. He also gave some support to Fukheer-ood-Dowlah, but Dâmâjee, speedily returning, dissolved their connection before it had proved injurious to the Mahratta cause, by giving up to Khundee Row the fort of Borsud and the valuable district of Nerriâd, and appointing him his deputy at Baroda. By this judicious management Dâmâjee preserved an ascendancy over the numerous members of his own family, and thus surmounted the most important obstacle to the maintenance of his power. He refused to acknowledge Fukheer-ood-Dowlah, and supported in preference the brother and son of his old ally, Momin Khân.

In A. D. 1751, Dâmâjee Guikowâr, on the invitation of Târâ-Bâee, the widow of Raja Râm, the son of Seevâjee, marched to Satara to rescue the raja and the Mahratta state from the power of the Brahmins. As soon as accounts were received of the Guikowâr's approach, Târâ Bâee, who had before unsuccessfully urged the raja to assume the control usurped by his servant, Bâlâjee Bâjee Row, now invited him into the fort of Satara, where she made him a prisoner. Dâmâjee Guikowâr was at first successful in defeating the Peshwah's officers, and in joining Târâ Bâee, but he was immediately afterwards compelled to retire before them, and to open a negotiation with Bâlâjee. The Peshwah finding Dâmâjee in his power now demanded the payment of all the arrears due from Goozerat, and the cession of a large portion of territory. Dâmâjee represented that he was but the lieutenant of Dhâbâree, and that he had no authority for complying with these demands. On this reply

the Peshwah seized some of the family of the Guikowâr and of Dhâbâree, and imprisoned them in a hill fort ; he afterwards treacherously attacked and plundered the Guikowâr's camp, and seizing Dâmâjee himself, placed him in confinement in the city of Poonah. Before he would listen to any overtures for the release of his prisoner, the Peshwah bound him down by the strongest securities ; he fixed a sum of fifteen lakhs of rupees as an acquittance for the amount then due ; he also exacted a bond for an equal partition both of the districts then held by the Guikowâr family in Goozerat, and of all future conquests. Dâmâjee agreed to give up half the territory, and, after deducting his expenses, to render a fair account of half the surplus in situations where tribute, shares of revenue, contributions, or prize property were realized. He also engaged to maintain ten thousand horse, and to assist the Peshwah when necessary ; to pay, as the lieutenant of Dhâbâree, an annual tribute of five lakhs and twenty thousand rupees for his share of the Goozerat province ; to contribute annually a certain sum for the support of the raja's establishment ; to aid the Peshwah in establishing garrisons in the districts ceded by this agreement ; and finally, to join in enforcing their mutual claims to tribute over the whole peninsula of Soorâshtra. Rughoonâth Row, or Râghobâ, the younger brother of the Peshwah, now made an expedition into Goozerat with the view of completing the general arrangements comprehended in the settlements with Dâmâjee Guikowâr, and that chieftain, having been released, joined him with his army soon after he entered the province. They proceeded together levying tribute, and reducing the country, and their progress was not interrupted until they arrived under the walls of Ahmedabad.

The capital of Goozerat was then in the hands of Juwân Murd Khân Bâbee, an officer originally appointed to the charge of the Mogul quarter by the brother of the deceased, Momin Khân, but who, during the confinement of Dâmâjee, had usurped the whole power of the city, permitting, however, the realization of the Guikowâr's dues. Juwân Murd Khân was absent at Pâhlunpoor when the confederated Mahratta chiefs appeared before Ahmedabad. He returned in time to save the city from being carried by escalade ; and his presence com-

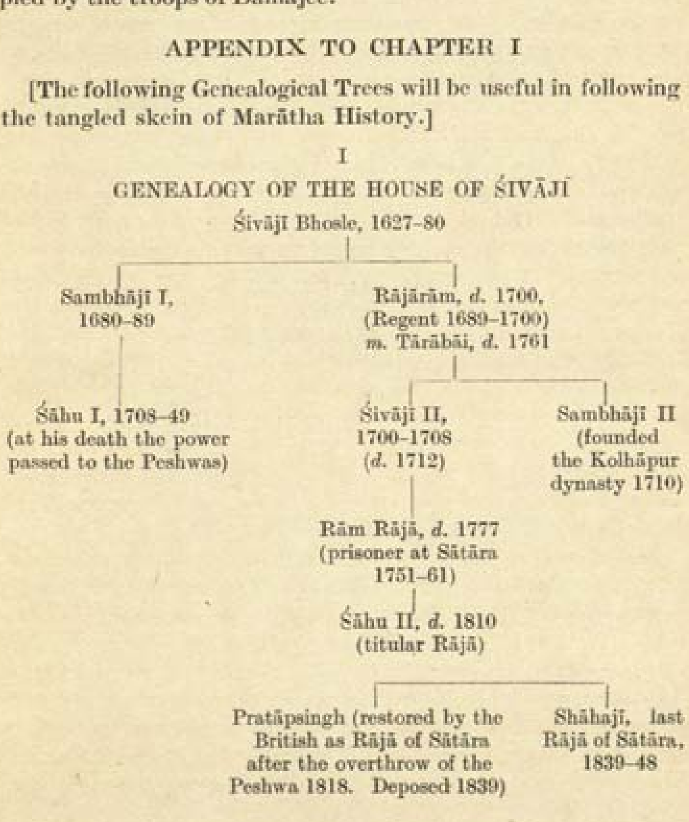
municating a new spirit to the garrison, the defence was maintained with great resolution. The conduct of Juwân Murd Khân Bâbee procured him an honorable capitulation, and the districts of Puttun, Wurnugger, Rhâdunpoor, Beejâpoor, and others, were conferred upon him on condition of his giving up the city. In April, 1755, Ahmedabad was finally taken-possession of by the Mahrattas. The revenue was to be equally divided between the Peshwah and Guikowâr, but the whole garrison was furnished by the Peshwah, excepting that of the citadel, now called the Guikowâr's Huwelee, which was occupied by the troops of Dâmâjee.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER I

[The following Genealogical Trees will be useful in following the tangled skein of Marātha History.]

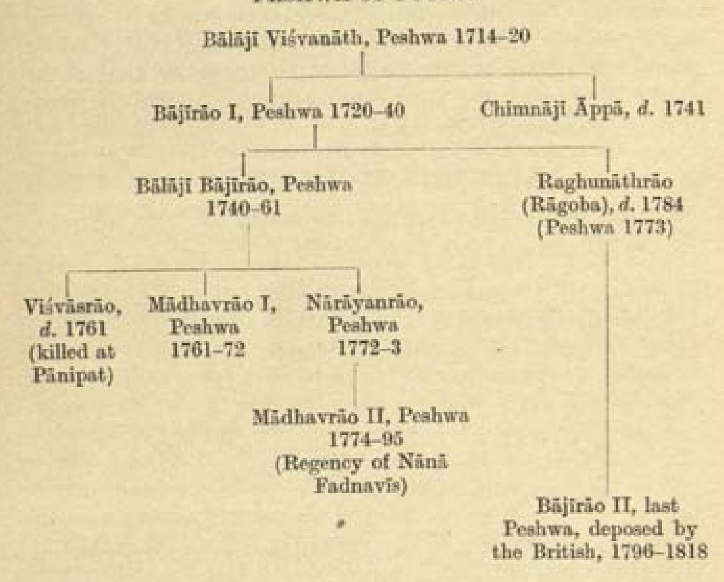
I

GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF ŚIVĀJĪ



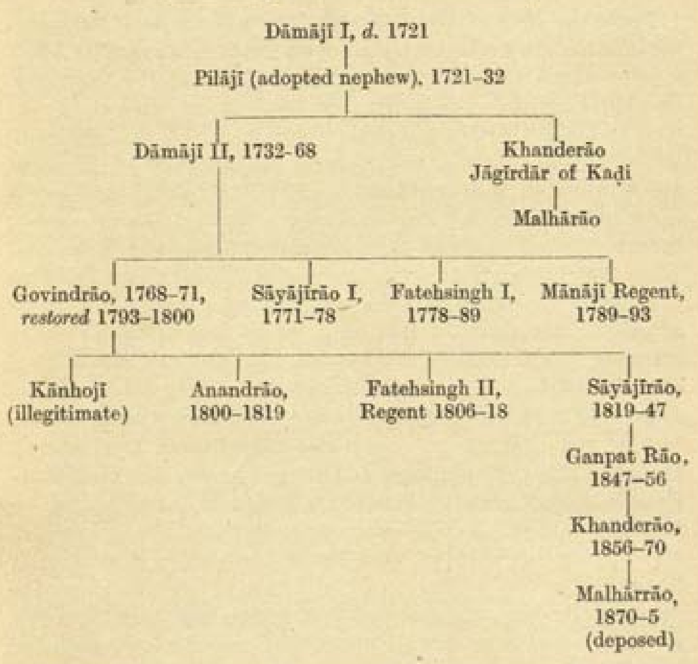
II

THE GENEALOGY OF THE HOUSE OF BALĀJĪ VISVĀNĀTH, PESHWA OF POONA



III

GENEALOGY OF THE GAIKWĀRS,



[The present ruler, His Highness Sir Sāyājīrāo Gāikwār, G.C.S.I., adopted as heir to Khanderāo in 1875, was invested with full powers in 1881. He is descended from a distant branch of the family.]

CHAPTER II

THE BRITISH FIRST APPEAR IN GOOZERAT

FROM the time of Mr. Bourchier's succession to the government of Bombay, which took place on the 17th November, 1750, a more intimate intercourse commenced between the Mahrattas and the English. The latter were long urgent with the Peshwah to assist them in restoring order in Surat, the affairs of which had during the weakness of the imperial government fallen into a state of confusion, and in establishing their privileges and trade in that city on a secure footing. The Peshwah, however, failed to afford them the support they required ; and when they attempted to effect their object independently of his assistance, he defeated their schemes by making a feint of attacking the island of Bombay. Surat Castle was notwithstanding taken possession of by the English, though with a considerable loss of both officers and men, on the 4th of March, A. D. 1759. It was not long before they were led to take a further step towards a territorial establishment in Goozerat. In A. D. 1771, they prepared to enforce against the Nowaub of Broach certain claims which they professed in right of sovereignty in Surat. A collision was, however, for a time avoided, and a treaty concluded with the Nowaub, which, as insufficiently favorable to the interests of the latter chief, was soon disregarded by him. The expedition which had been formerly projected, was now carried into effect, and Broach, with the loss of the gallant and accomplished general, David Wedderburn, was taken by storm on the 18th November, 1772.

Meanwhile, the great Guikowâr chief, Dâmâjee Row, had died, leaving behind him four sons. Syâjee Row, the eldest of these, was the son of the second wife of Dâmâjee, and his title to the succession was therefore disputed by his brother, Gowind Row, who, though junior in age, derived his birth from the first-espoused wife of his father. The remaining sons, Mânukjee and Futteh Singh, brothers of the whole blood, were the children of a younger mother. The pretensions of Gowind Row had

been at first admitted by the Peshwah Mahdoo Row; but, being afterwards disallowed in his court of law, were finally rejected by him in favor of those of Syâjee, who was invested accordingly with the titles of Senâ-Khâs-Kheyl, Shumsher Buhâdur. Syâjee Row was, however, an idiot, and his brother, Futteh Singh, was therefore appointed by the Peshwah to act as his deputy. After the death of Mahdoo Row, and the murder of Nârâyun Row, his brother, their uncle, Râghobâ, the younger son of Bâjee Row, succeeding for a time to the office of Peshwah, invested Gowind Row as successor to the Guikowâr possessions in supercession of the former installation of Syâjee. Gowind Row immediately set off for Goozerat, with the view of wresting the government from Futteh Singh, and a state of constant warfare commenced between the partizans of the rival brothers.[1]

The continuance in power of Râghobâ was but brief. The ministers of the Poonah state, supported by the great military chiefs, Holkar and Sindia, opposed themselves to him, and in January, 1775, he arrived, almost a fugitive, at Baroda, in Goozerat, where his partizan, Gowind Row Guikowâr, was then engaged in besieging his brother.[2] The deposed Peshwah had also a further object in retiring to Goozerat. He sought to renew a negotiation which he had for some time had on foot, for obtaining the assistance of the Bombay government. A treaty was finally concluded between these parties on the 6th

[1] [The port of Surat was the cradle of the British commerce in India. The first Englishman to land there was Captain William Hawkins in the *Hector*, 1608; and from that time onwards the English, despite the opposition of the Portuguese, strove hard to obtain from the Moghal Court a *farmân* to establish a Factory there. It became the capital of the British Factories in Western India; Bombay, acquired in 1661, was too unhealthy. The life of a man in Bombay, says Ovington, was two monsoons. Surat, however, was exposed to raids. Śivājī sacked it in 1664 and 1670; and Bombay gradually became the leading settlement on the western coast. A curious feature of the transition period was Keigwin's rebellion in 1683–4, when Keigwin held Bombay for the King and refused to acknowledge Sir John Child, the Company's Governor or President, at Surat. See Strachey, *Keigwin's Rebellion* (Clarendon Press, 1916).]

[2] [The reader should refer to the genealogical trees at the end of the last chapter.]

March, and the English became pledged to the support of Râghobâ with a military force. A detachment sailed accordingly from Bombay, in expectation of forming a speedy junction with Râghobâ's army in Goozerat. On their arrival at Surat, however, the English found that their ally had already experienced a serious reverse. He had been compelled by a confederated ministerial army to raise the siege of Baroda, and to engage them on the plains of Ârâs, near the river Myhee, where he was totally defeated. The British detachment, which was under the command of Colonel Keating, proceeded nevertheless to Cambay, accompanied by the ex-Peshwah, and landed at that place on the 17th March. It was more than a month before they effected a junction, at the village of Durmuj, eleven miles north of Cambay, with the fugitive army of Rághobâ, and it was not until the 3rd May that the united force reached the town of Mâtur. The direction of their route was now changed. They left Mâtur on the 5th, with the intention of moving towards Poonah, and on the 8th reached Nerriâd, where they remained a week, exacting a contribution from the town. The army, after quitting Nerriâd, continued its march towards the Myhee, and on the 18th, at Ârás, near that river, the fatal scene of Roostum Ulee's defeat and death, and of Rághobâ's former discomfiture, an engagement was fought, in which the enemy was defeated, not, however, without severe loss to the British detachment. Colonel Keating arrived at Broach on the 29th, and, having deposited his wounded in that town, made an attempt upon the enemy, who were encamped near the Nerbudda. They became aware of his approach through the irregular movements of his Mahratta auxiliaries, and, throwing their guns into the river, retreated along the northern bank. It was now finally resolved to remain in Goozerat during the rainy months, and to proceed to Poonah at the commencement of the fair season. The fortress of Dubhoee was the place destined for the winter quarters of the British detachment, and, on the 8th June, Colonel Keating accordingly marched thitherwards from Broach, along the banks of the Nerbudda. After an attempt to surprise the enemy, at the ford of Bhâwâ Peer, the British troops at length quitting the river, turned towards Dubhoee. The monsoon,

however, commenced with unusual violence, and though they had no other enemy to encounter, and no more than twenty miles to march to their destination, it was upwards of a fortnight before the officers and privates of the English detachment found themselves sheltered within the time-hallowed walls which had been erected by the Kings of Unhilpoor.

Such was the termination of the first British campaign in Goozerat.[1] If not wholly unsuccessful in its progress, it was certainly barren of immediate results. The supreme government, seated with new authority in Bengal, disapproved in no measured terms of the alliance with the ex-Peshwah. A cessation of hostilities was the consequence, and as soon as the state of the roads allowed, the detachment under Colonel Keating, accompanied by Râghobâ, returned towards Surat.

A few years afterwards, the English, on this occasion as principals, were again at war with the Poonah government, of which the master-spirit was the celebrated Nânâ Furnuvees.[2] On the 1st of January, A.D. 1780, General Goddard, in command of an English army, crossed the river Taptee, from Surat, and moved slowly northwards. His battering train and stores having at last reached him, he marched to attack Dubhoee, then held in the name of the Peshwah, while the

[1] [See Grant Duff, vol. ii, chapter xxvi.]

[2] [Nānā Fadnavis was a minister of Mādhavrāo I. The latter died in 1772, and was succeeded by his brother Nārāyanrāo (see Genealogy, appendix to chapter i). Narāyanrāo was murdered in 1772 with the connivance of his uncle Raghunāthrāo, who tried to usurp the government. Nārāyanrāo fought manfully for the young heir, Mādhavrāo II, against the intrigues of Raghunāthrāo, who was supported by the English until the treaty of Purandhar in 1776. Nānā Fadnavīs skilfully conducted the two wars with the English, ending in 1782 with the treaty of Sālbāi, and kept the young Peshwa, Mādhavrāo II, strictly under his thumb, until the latter committed suicide in 1795. Nānā Fadnavīs tried his best to divert Bājīrāo II from the evil courses which led to his downfall, but his attempts were frustrated by the rivalry of Sindia. The minister died in 1800. He was a sagacious and patriotic statesman, and the most formidable opponent of the English. For his character, see Grant Duff, vol. ii, chapter xli. Further details will be found in the *Autobiographical Memoir of the Early Life of Nānā Farnavīs*, transl. by Briggs in *T.R.A.S.*, 1829; and in the scarce *Memoir* by A. Macdonald (Bombay, American Mission Press, 1851), which gives a roughly executed portrait.]

civil officers of the British government, raising irregular troops, expelled the partisans of Nânâ Furnuvees from the districts of Surat and Broach. On the 18th of January, the army of General Goddard arrived before Dubhoee, and two days afterwards, a battery being in readiness to open upon the place, it was evacuated during the night by its Mahratta garrison. Futteh Singh, the acknowledged head of the Guikowâr state, with whom negotiations had been already commenced, signed, a few days afterwards, a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance, in virtue of which he was henceforth to possess the Peshwah's territory, north of the Myhee, ceding, at the same time, to the British government, his own lands in the districts of Surat and Broach. General Goddard, accordingly, pursued his march to the north, and, on the 10th of February, displayed, for the first time, the British colours before the Moslem capital of Goozerat. The Mahratta governor declining to surrender, a battery was opened on the 12th, and a breach was, on the following evening, declared practicable. From motives of humanity, and the fear of excesses in the city, the assault was during next day delayed, in hopes that the garrison might be induced to surrender. The endeavour was, however, unavailing, and, on the morning of the 15th, a forlorn hope, followed by the grenadiers of the Bombay division, rushed up the breach, which the garrison, after a determined stand, and when three hundred of their number had fallen, at length relinquished. The capital of Goozerat was scarcely reduced, when Goddard heard of the approach of Sindia and Holkar, who crossed the Nerbudda on the 29th with large bodies of horse, and advanced into the neighbourhood of Baroda. On the British general's marching against them they retired, however, towards Powangurh.

Dubhoee, which had been entrusted to the care of Mr. James Forbes,[1] of the Civil Service, since known as the author of the *Oriental Memoirs*, was meanwhile surrounded by the Mahratta horse, who encamped within sight of the walls, though not within reach of the cannon of the town. The garrison consisted only of three companies of sepoys commanded by three European officers, a few European artillerymen and lascars, with five

[1] [See p. 3, footnote.]

beruks or battalions of Arab and Sindhian irregular infantry. Two English gentlemen, a civil and a military officer, then hostages in the Mahratta camp, contrived to send a secret message to their countrymen within the town, counselling surrender, and pointing out that all resistance would be vain. Within Dubhoee, however, a different spirit prevailed, and though various articles of capitulation, culled from the Annual Registers and Encyclopædia, which were the principal treasures of James Forbes's scanty library, were looked over, that, in case of necessity, honorable terms might at least have been made, the treatises on fortification, gunnery, and similar subjects were more carefully studied, and preparations were made for strengthening the ramparts, repairing the towers at the Diamond-gate, and rendering the old Mahratta guns of service. The approach of General Goddard with his army from Ahmedabad, however, deprived the defenders of Dubhoee of an opportunity of testing the value of their preparations, and the Mahratta army broke up its encampment, and retired.

The war continued with varying fortune through a series of events, only indirectly affecting the interests of Goozerat, until the 17th of May, 1782, on which day a treaty was concluded at Salbhye,[1] under the mediation of Muhadajee Sindia,[2] between the British and the chiefs of the Mahratta nation. By this treaty, which was not finally ratified until the 24th of February, 1783, the position of the parties in Goozerat was to

[1] [Sālbāi in Gwālior State, Central India.]

[2] [Mahādajī Sindia was the foremost chieftain of his time. In 1778, the Bombay Government declared war against the government of Poona, then controlled by Nānā Fadnavīs, and sent a force under Colonel Egerton, who was soon succeeded by Colonel Cockburn, to attack Poona. At Talegāon, the English leader, after much vacillation, decided, on January 11, 1779, to retreat, but at Vaḍgāon (Wargaum) he was brought to bay by Sindia and was allowed to retire on condition that the English relinquished all their conquests since 1773. This disgraceful treaty, commonly known as the 'Convention of Wargaum', was disavowed by the Bombay Government and the Directors in England. Sindia subsequently (1789) gained possession of Delhi and of the Emperor's person, and on his return to the Deccan espoused the cause of the young Peshwa against Nānā Fadnavīs. He died in 1794, and was succeeded by his grandnephew Daulat Rāo, who was beaten by Wellesley at the battle of Assaye, 1803.]

revert to that which had existed previous to the war of 1775; the territories of the Baroda state were secured from dismemberment, and no claim of tribute was to be preferred by the Peshwah against Futteh Singh for the period during which hostilities had continued. The valuable district of Broach was at the same time bestowed on Muhadajee Sindia, 'in testimony,' as was stated at the time by the Governor-General in Council, 'of 'the sense which they entertained of the generous conduct 'manifested by the said Muhadajee Sindia to the government 'of Bombay, at Wargaum, in January, 1779; and of his 'humane treatment and release of the English gentlemen who 'had been delivered as hostages on that occasion.' Among the pergunnahs of Goozerat thus restored to the Mahrattas were those of Dubhoee and Zinore and the other districts under the jurisdiction of Mr. Forbes, who was now directed to surrender them to such officer as might be deputed by the Mahratta state to receive them. At the same time the chief and council of Broach were ordered to deliver up that important city and its valuable pergunnah to Bhâsker Row, the agent of Muhadajee Sindia. The description which the author of the *Oriental Memoirs* has left us of the surrender of Dubhoee and Broach, contains so many characteristic and interesting features that we shall doubtless be excused if we present it in his own words:—'When,' says Mr. Forbes, 'it was publicly known 'that Dubhoee and its dependent pergunnahs were to be given 'up to the Mahratta government, and the day approached 'which was fixed for my departure, a deputation from the 'Brahmins and principal inhabitants visited me at the durbar, 'and sincerely condoled with me on the change of affairs. 'They offered presents, and were so hurt at my refusing any-'thing tendered for my acceptance, that I was at length 'induced to mention a gift which I could receive without 'conscientious scruples, if they could bestow it, which from 'delicacy alone I had not before asked. Expressing some 'surprise, and at the same time manifesting the greatest desire 'to oblige me, I told them, that as Dubhoee contained many 'remains of Hindoo antiquity, in broken columns, mutilated 'images, and remnants of basso-relievo scattered among 'dilapidated buildings in the city, I requested they would

'allow me to select a few of the smallest specimens from the 'exterior fragments, which I would bring with me to Europe, 'and erect a temple for their reception in my own garden. 'Their astonishment increased at this communication, and 'was followed by a solemn silence. They expressed no appre-'hension of my ridiculing their religion, but seemed anxious 'to know why a Christian wished to possess Hindoo idols. 'I found a little difficulty in convincing them of the general 'curiosity of Europeans, the gratification it would be to show 'them those specimens of oriental sculpture, and the delightful 'association of my own ideas, when I should behold in my 'own country the precious relics transported from a distant 'spot endeared by a thousand tender recollections.

'Their tears flowed when they requested to retire for a few 'hours, during which they would assemble the recluse religious 'Brahmins, and in a conclave consider the first request of the 'kind which they had ever heard of. They returned the next 'morning with countenances indicating mingled sensations of 'regret at my approaching departure, and of delight at having 'it in their power to grant my request, to which they acceded 'in the most liberal manner, desiring I would send my own 'people to select such specimens as I thought proper, and 'place them in a temple to friendship in my own country. 'I did so; and deputed some *Hindoo* workmen to collect such 'small images as I pointed out in the dilapidated walls of 'forsaken dewuls, and from the exterior ornaments at the Gate 'of Diamonds, which, in eight groups, now adorn an octagon 'building at Stanmore-hill, erected for that purpose, under 'a linden-grove, on the margin of a lake profusedly adorned by 'the nymphea lotus, which, when its snowy petals and expanded 'foliage are gently agitated by the southern breeze, reminds 'me of the sacred tanks in Goozerat.'

The author, at length, took his departure for Broach, where he was witness to a similar scene :—

'The inhabitants of Broach, accustomed to the lenity of 'British jurisdiction, execrated the approaching change, and 'dreaded the arrival of Bhásker Row, which had been delayed 'in consequence of a mistaken renewal of hostilities on the 'Malabar coast; the people of Broach, in the meantime,

'indulged a vain hope that the intended cession would not 'take place. No prayers, no ceremonies, no sacrifices, were 'left unperformed by the different castes and religious pro-'fessions, to implore the continuance of the British govern-'ment. It is with extreme satisfaction I recollect the unfeigned 'sorrow which pervaded all ranks of society when the fatal 'day was fixed for our departure. Broach, before its conquest 'by the English, had belonged to the Moguls, and was governed 'by a Mohummedan nowaub; the inhabitants well knew the 'difference that awaited them. Of all oriental despots, the 'arbitrary power of the Mahratta falls, perhaps, with the most 'oppressive weight; they extort money by every kind of 'vexatious cruelty, without supporting commerce, agriculture, 'and the usual sources of wealth and prosperity in well-governed 'states. The Mohummedans, although equally fond of money, 'spend it with more liberality, encourage useful and ornamental 'works, and patronize art and science.

'On the ninth of July, 1783, the day appointed for the 'cession of Broach to Muhadajee Sindia, the chief and council 'received his agent, Bhâsker Row, with proper ceremony in 'the durbar, and there delivered to him the keys of the city-'gates. We immediately repaired to the water-side, to cross 'the Nerbudda in our way to Surat, and were silently followed 'by the principal inhabitants of the city. While embarking 'on the Company's yacht, a dark cloud passed over us, and 'a shower of rain fell; our afflicted friends, no longer able to 'keep silence, and forgetting the impending terrors of a 'Mahratta despot, pathetically exclaimed, "These drops are 'the tears of heaven for the fate of Broach!"

'I oppose this fact to a thousand unfounded prejudices, and 'unsupported calumnies, against the English, which were once 'so easily credited in Europe. Among the many who occupy 'eminent stations in India, some, no doubt, deserve censure: 'the characters of all who fill similar situations at home are 'not immaculate: the temptations of wealth and power some-'times subdue the strongest minds; but the hour approaches 'when they cease to charm, and when a conscience "void of 'offence" will be the only comfort. Whether the European 'or Indian peculator is now amenable to human laws or not,

'a secret monitor corrodes every present joy, and an unerring 'judge hereafter will avenge the breach of his own laws, 'established in truth and equity! The general opprobrium 'was unjust on a set of men whose prevailing characteristics 'were philanthropy, generosity, and benevolence.'

Broach remained in the possession of Sindia from this period until the time when that chieftain engaged in war with the British government. It was taken from him by storm, by a part of the Baroda subsidiary force under the command of Colonel Woodington, on the 29th August, 1803.

Futteh Singh Guikowâr died in consequence of a fall from the upper story of his house, on the 21st December, 1789. A contest for the regency now occurred between Mânâjee, the full brother of Futteh Singh, and Gowind Row, which was only set at rest about four years afterwards by the death of Mânâjee. Though his title was now undisputed Gowind Row Guikowâr found it, nevertheless, difficult to obtain permission to quit the Peshwan's capital.[1] Nânâ Furnuvees sought to impose upon him stipulations to the advantage of the Poonah government, in addition to those exorbitant ones which had been already forced upon his family. The British government, however, intervened to prevent a dismemberment of the Guikowâr territories, contrary to the stipulations of the treaty of Salbhye, and the Furnuvees admitting the validity of their objections, Gowind Row was at last permitted to depart, for the purpose of assuming the regency at Baroda, on the 19th December, 1793.

Gowind Row Guikowâr died in September, 1800. He had been at war for two years with Âbâ Shelookur, the deputy of Chimnâjee Âppâ, Bâjee Row Peshwah's brother, as Governor of Goozerat. Shelookur, during the term of his government, made himself most obnoxious to the people by his tyrannies and exactions. The house now employed as the Session Court at Ahmedabad, was built by him on the foundations of royal buildings of the Mohummedan sultans, and at the expense of the population whose materials he seized, or whose labour he compelled. Among other cruel deeds, he is accused of having

[1] [Govindrão had been captured by the Peshwa Mādhavrão I in 1768 near Dhodap, together with his father, and taken to Poona.]

seduced into his power a soldier of fortune, named Monsieur Jean (or, as he is commonly called, Moussa Jân), and of having caused him to be blown from the mouth of a cannon, in order to possess himself of his wealth. In 1800, Mr. Duncan, the Governor of Bombay, having arrived at Surat for the purpose of assuming the government of that city, on the demise of the last nowaub, vukeels were dispatched by Gowind Row Guikowâr with the ostensible view of congratulating him on his arrival, but with the real object of procuring British assistance for the reduction of Shelookur. Mr. Duncan was, himself, prepared with requests that the Guikowâr government should cede to the British the pergunnah of Chourâsee, which surrounds the city of Surat, and their share of the Mahratta chouth of the revenues of the port. The application on the part of Gowind Row for assistance against Shelookur was, however, evaded, and no satisfactory result was, at the time, obtained in regard to the pergunnah of Chourâsee, or the chouth. The Guikowâr government now resolved upon reducing Shelookur with their independent means, and an army advanced from Baroda against Ahmedabad. Shelookur called in his lieutenants from Dâkorjee and Kâteewâr, and engaged the Guikowâr army near the Rozah of Shah Alum, outside the city. He was unsuccessful, and was compelled to take refuge in the citadel, where, being eventually deserted by his mercenaries, he was made prisoner. The Peshwah, who had been hostile to Shelookur on account of his connection with Nânâ Furnuvees, now granted his share of the revenue of Goozerat in farm to the Baroda government, at an annual rate of five lakhs of rupees for five years, and Rughoonâth Myheeput Row (commonly called Kâkâjee),[1] the cousin of Rowjee Âppâjee,[2] the Guikowâr minister, was appointed Governor of Ahmedabad.

[1] [*Kākājī*, a paternal uncle.]

[2] [Rāojī Āppājī and his brother Bābājī were Prabhus, who, like many other Dekhanis, came with Govindrāo when he returned in 1793 from his long exile in Poona.]

CHAPTER III

ÂNUND ROW GUIKOWÂR [1]

The death of the Muhârâjâ Gowind Row Guikowâr having occurred after midnight, on the 19th of September, 1800, Bâbâjee Âppâjee and Meer Kumâl-ood-deen Khân, the principal military officers present, joined with the two great bankers, Mungul Pâreekh and Sâmul Bechur, who held the Arab mercenaries in dependence, to effect a settlement of affairs. Early in the morning the ladies of the family were all assembled, and Ghenâ Bâee, the widow of the Muhârâjâ, a Jhâlâ Rajpoot lady of the house of Lugtur, declared her intention of burning with the corpse of her husband. From this step she was, however, dissuaded by the officers who assured her, taking oaths to that effect on the Korân or in Hindoo modes, that they were determined to maintain the honor and influence which she enjoyed during the life-time of her husband. The corpse of Gowind Row was now carried to the funeral pyre, and Ânund Row, his eldest legitimate son, commenced his reign. Rowjee Âppâjee, the late Gowind Row's minister, soon after arrived from Ahmedabad, and resumed the administration of affairs. The minister's first endeavour was to prevail upon the bankers and officers to take means for restraining the ambition of Kânhojee Row, an illegitimate son of the late raja, whom he accused of having already raised disturbances in the life-time of his father. This proposition was not, however, assented to; and, soon after, Kânhojee Row, with the aid of some of the officers who adhered to his party, made himself master of the government, and of the person of his brother, Ânund Row Guikowâr. The tyrannical disposition of Kânhojee now had full opportunity for exhibiting itself. He conducted himself with so much violence towards all the officers of the government, and with so much contempt, if not actual severity, towards the Raja

[1] We depend henceforth upon bardic authority, and upon the unpublished papers in the Record Room at the East India House, in London.

Ânund Row, that a general combination, with the apparent consent of his brother, was soon formed against him. On the night of the 27th January, 1801, his house having been surrounded, he was, after some resistance, seized, and brought before Ânund Row, under colour of whose authority he was disarmed and put in irons, and, subsequently, conveyed as a prisoner to the fortress of Râmpoor Roteah, among the hills which divide Goozerat from Malwa. Rowjee Âppâjee, from this time, became the real head of the executive government.

As early as April following, however, Gujrâ Bâee, the daughter of Futteh Singh Guikowâr, for reasons unknown, quarrelled with Rowjee Âppâjee, and sought shelter in the city of Surat, and before the end of the year, a still more formidable malcontent was arrayed against the government of the minister. Peelâjee Guikowâr had conferred the government of Kuree [1] upon his younger son, Khundee Row, who was confirmed in that possession by the Senâputee Dhâbâree, whose officer Peelâjee then was, and invested also with the title of Heemut Buhâdur. His son and successor, Mulhâr Row, was, on the rise of his family to sovereign power, confirmed in both his possessions and his rank by Futteh Singh Guikowâr, while, at the same time, his future allegiance to the head of his house was provided for by his agreeing to serve the state with four hundred horse. This service was, however, commutable for a payment of 120,000 rupees, and the Jâgheerdâr of Kuree, though admitting a feudal dependence on the sovereign of Baroda, was, within his possessions, as wholly independent of him, as was the Guikowâr himself, within his own territories, of the head of the Mahratta State. Mulhâr Row Guikowâr urged, as the minister represented, by demands lately made on him for arrears of tribute due to the state, or, as he himself asserted, and as the party of Gujrâ Bâee affirmed, by sympathy for the

[1] [Kaḍi 22° 18′ N., 72° 22½′ E., is the capital of the northern division of the Baroda State. It is about 16 miles north of Ahmadābād. The *Killa*, or fort, with its thick rubble walls, still remains. Kaḍi was given by Dāmājī in *Jāgīr* to his brother Khanderāo Gaikwār, Himmat Bahādur, after Pānipat (1761). There was constant rivalry between the elder and younger branches of the family, in which both Khanderāo and his son Malhārrāo took part, especially in 1801 when Malhārrāo brought about his own ruin by espousing the cause of the illegitimate Kānhojī.]

unmerited situation of Kânhojee Row, now began to assemble troops, and publicly declared his intention of punishing Rowjee Âppâjee and his brother, Bâbâjee, for their several unwarrantable and despotic acts, and of reinstating Kânhojee Row and the other ill-used members of the Guikowâr family in their just rights, which were withheld from them by those tyrannical ministers. Mookund Row, another illegitimate son of the late raja, had shortly before, under pretence of visiting the shrine of Shree Runchorjee, at Dâkor, retired from Baroda, carrying with him a large amount of jewels and treasure. The ministerial party endeavoured to procure his return; but as he would not listen to their remonstrances, and began to excite disturbances, they sent an army against him, upon which he fled into the Kuree territory, and took shelter with Mulhâr Row. Mulhâr Row had already taken forcible possession of the fortresses of Veesulnugger and Beejâpoor, which he affected to hold for Muhârâjâ Ânund Row, and he vaunted that forty thousand troops were in readiness at different points to espouse his cause. Shivrâm, an old officer in the Guikowâr service, disgusted, as it was said, at the conduct of the ministers, had gone over to him, and it was given out that several others who held considerable commands, were about to follow this example. The forces of the contending factions already faced each other. Bâbâjee Âppâjee was encamped at the Shâhee Bâgh, near Ahmedabad, with his advanced guard at Kâlee-kâ-kot. Mulhâr Row himself remained at Kuree with a part of his force, but his brother, Hunmunt Row, with another division, was encamped at Kulol, eight kos in advance of Kuree, and about seven from the outposts of Bâbâjee's army. Three skirmishes had already taken place, in all of which Mulhâr Row claimed the advantage. Under these circumstances, both parties applied for assistance to the British governor. Gujrâ Bâee, and her minister, offered, on behalf of Kânhojee, not only the cession of the Chourâsee pergunnah, and the Guikowâr share of the chouth of Surat (the previous cession of which, by Gowind Row, had up to the time of his death been rendered ineffectual by the Peshwah's disapprobation), but also the pergunnah of Cheeklee, which they represented as more valuable than that of Chourâsee. Rowjee Âppâjee, on the other hand,

in January, 1802, in the name of Muhârâjâ Ânund Row, deputed Meer Kumâl-ood-deen Khân, and two vukeels, to Mr. Duncan, who formally delivered a deed of relinquishment of the Chourâsee pergunnah and the Surat chouth, in fulfilment of the late Gowind Row's incomplete engagement. The British governor weighed, for a considerable period, the pretensions of both parties, but eventually determined on lending his assistance to the ministers who wielded power in the name of Ânund Row. Several reasons concurred to induce Mr. Duncan to adopt that course. There appeared to him to be, on the whole, no more reason for relying on the veracity of Mulhâr Row's representatives than on that of their opponents, who were, moreover, in possession of the whole country, with the exception of the districts which the Jâgheerdâr of Kuree had overrun, in the vicinity of his own territory. The ostensible and perhaps real sanction of Ânund Row Muhârâjâ, the undoubted head of the Guikowâr state, was given to the proposals of the ministers; and these officials called upon the British government in the most formal manner to comply with the terms of the treaty of Salbhye, by interfering to prevent the dismemberment of the Guikowâr state. Mulhâr Row was, as the governor was informed, endeavouring to introduce a foreign force from Sindh, the presence of which might have completely neutralized the influence of the British in Goozerat, and Mr. Duncan was further apprehensive that the ministerial party, should their demand for British assistance meet with an unfavorable reply, might throw themselves into the hands of Sindia. A detachment was therefore formed for the purpose of giving weight to the British arbitration, and of maintaining the integrity of the Guikowâr dominions. It consisted eventually of about two thousand men, four hundred of whom were Europeans, and the command was conferred upon Major Alexander Walker,—a name afterwards deservedly famous in the annals of Goozerat. This officer it was, however determined should, as soon as possible, quit the military character to assume the position of British resident at Baroda, a provision which Mr. Duncan (whose hope it still was to bring matters to a settlement without employing force) considered would render him the more disinclined to urge matters to extremity.

Major Walker was instructed to proceed in the first place to Baroda with the Guikowâr vukeels, his ostensible mission being that of presenting compliments and condolence, on the part of the British government, to the Muhârâjâ Ânund Row, on the death of his father, this ceremony having been delayed pending the cession of the Chourâsee and chouth. His real object was to ascertain the true state of Ânund Row's mind, and whether Hunmunt Row, the son of that prince, had received his father's consent to his joining the army under Bâbâjee. The military detachment was in the meantime to proceed by sea to Cambay, and to be joined there by Major Walker on the termination of his mission to Baroda.

Major Walker left Surat on the 24th of January, 1802, and reached Baroda on the 29th. The mission passed through Broach, where it was received with distinction by Sindia's officers. A deputation from the minister met them at the distance of a few miles from Baroda ; and at a kos from the town, they found Rowjee Âppâjee, attended by all the civil and military officers, waiting to receive them, in a spot where carpets had been spread, in the open air, for the meeting. Major Walker was presented to every person of consequence, including the Arab Jemâdârs, the whole displaying the greatest cordiality. He proceeded thence to Baroda, where he was conducted to a suite of tents that had been prepared for him, a body of troops receiving him with rested arms, and a salute being fired from some field-pieces on the spot. Next day, the minister repeated his visit to the British envoy, and at once exhibited his great anxiety for the reduction of Kuree and the total expulsion of Mulhâr Row. The British envoy, unwilling to discuss the matter at that time, turned the conversation to the subject of the supplies required for the efficiency of the detachment at Cambay. It was agreed at this interview, that Major Walker should attend the Muhârâjâ that afternoon. This design was, however, prevented by Ânund Row's declaring that he felt it incumbent on him to pay the first visit. Major Walker, in return for this courtesy, met the Guikowâr prince on the road, and Ânund Row, descending from his elephant, embraced him, and proceeded with him to the tents. The raja was attended by all the officers of his court, and by an escort

of horse and foot, and was received with a salute of artillery. He retired, at Major Walker's request, into a private apartment, with such of his sirdârs and chiefs as he selected to accompany him. The governor's compliments and message of condolence on the death of the late Gowind Row were now offered. The Muhârâjâ received them without the least attention, and it was soon apparent to the envoy, that his mind was in a state which incapacitated him for close application of any kind. The following graphic description of the scene which ensued is given in Major Walker's own words :—

'Ânund Row appears about thirty or forty years of age, of 'a robust person, and a body that has no visible signs of 'feebleness, but an unmeaning countenance and heavy eyes 'betray at once, perhaps a natural imbecility, and the ruinous 'effects of intoxicating drugs, to which he is said to be addicted. 'Probably both these means operate to depress the mind of 'this prince, but his incapacity for business is here imputed more 'to the pernicious habit of smoking bang, than to constitutional 'weakness. Notwithstanding these marks of mental debility, 'Ânund Row appeared in possession of his recollection, he 'named several of his officers, and was not without a general 'knowledge of the affairs of his state. If at any time he 'appeared embarrassed, Rowjee and Kumâl-ood-deen were 'always ready to assist. The ornaments for his person were 'the only part of the presents that engaged any part of his 'attention. He repeatedly adjusted the surpech [1] to his turban, 'and removed the dustbund [2] from his wrist to his ângrukhâ.[3] 'Âghâ Mohummed's watch attracted his notice, and he 'examined it childishly. Towards the conclusion of the inter'view, he appeared for a moment to recover himself, and 'observed that he had many enemies, who spread false reports 'of his situation and of the state of his mind, but that he 'hoped by my means the governor would be undeceived, and

[1] [*sarpech*, *sarpesh*, a jewelled ornament worn on the front of the turban.]

[2] [*dastband*, 'hand-fastening', an ornament worn on the back of the hand.]

[3] The *ângrukhâ* is a body coat; the meaning is, that he pulled the sleeve of his coat under the bracelet on his wrist; not an uncommon mode of fidgeting. [The Marâthi word is *angarkhâ*.]

'that I would write him the truth. In this request, Rowjee 'and Kumâl-ood-deen repeatedly joined, observing it was now 'easy to see how much the raja had been injured by report. 'Ânund Row next adverted to the hostility of Mulhâr Row, 'and expressed his expectation that the major would hasten 'to punish his enemies. He mentioned several times their 'expulsion from Kuree, as an object which he earnestly 'desired; this desire was re-echoed by the attendants. The 'raja was assured that the Company's government had the 'advantage of the Guikowâr states always in view, and that 'the justice of his cause and the English forces would effec- 'tually protect him against his enemies. During this interview, 'the Raja Ânund Row conducted himself with humility, 'frequently declaring his dependence on the English govern- 'ment, and his respect and attachment to the Company, 'founded on the intimate connection formed by his ancestors. 'After the customary offering of rose-water and betel, the 'Guikowâr Ânund Row took his leave and returned.'

On the 1st of February, the envoy visited the Muhârâjâ in his palace. 'The demeanour of the prince,' says Major Walker, 'was much more collected than on the former day; 'he was cheerful, and the stupidity of his first appearance 'seemed to give way to a considerable share of benevolence, 'and even of intelligence. After the public conversation, 'Ânund Row presented the mission with presents, and 'requested our attendance in a private apartment. An indis- 'criminate number of the leading men, with their attendants, 'forced themselves into the apartment. Ânund Row pro- 'nounced an eulogium upon Rowjee, and evinced a strong 'desire to inflict a due punishment upon Mulhâr Row He 'said that the presence of his son, Hunmunt Row, with the 'army was entirely his own act; mentioned that he was twelve 'years of age, and spoke of him with satisfaction. He posi- 'tively denied that Mulhâr Row had in any manner obtained 'his sanction to prosecute war, but when he was asked whether 'Kânhojee was imprisoned with his consent, he made no reply; 'he hung down his head, rolled his eyes, and maintained an 'expressive silence. The officers then attempted to answer 'for him, but he still remained silent. He whispered to me,

'that the Arab Jemâdârs were all his mortal enemies, and 'that they would not permit him to converse freely. The 'mission soon after retired.' Major Walker was afterwards informed by the Muhârâjâ's confidant, Mungul Pâreekh, that it was a religious feeling which made him silent when questioned respecting the confinement of Kânhojee. He had continued to consider the imprisonment of his brother as a crime, and an act of impiety, notwithstanding the public necessity for it, and when the event first happened he had allowed his beard to grow as a sign of mourning, and had for a long period afflicted himself with mortifications.

The Guikowâr government, as it appeared to Major Walker, was in so absolute a state of weakness and disorder, that it must have dissolved, unless strengthened by external support. The confusion of authorities, and the misery thereby entailed upon the people, were hardly to be conceived—nothing but the absence of order everywhere prevailed ; the pay of all departments was in arrears ; the country was mortgaged to money-lenders, who collected from it what they pleased ; a single mercenary leader travelled about with more authority than the prince ; and an armed aristocracy had possessed themselves of the government, holding the Muhârâjâ himself completely under their control ; while, from their own administrative incapability, they were, in their turn, wholly in the hands of the bankers. The expenditure, at this time, of the Guikowâr government exceeded its means by four or five lakhs of rupees during the year. The minister, Rowjee Âppâjee, was a person fitted by his acuteness and prudence for the management of public business, but he had been familiar with revolutions, having witnessed or taken part in the changes that, during forty years, had shaken the numerous branches of the Mahratta empire. His character had thus become tinged with suspicion, his caution degenerated sometimes into timidity, he was not at liberty to pursue his own plans, and wanted firmness to wrest their usurped power from the Arab officers. He appeared sometimes to distrust the intentions of the British, while, at others, he exhibited a degree of candour and openness in his conversation which had all the appearance of security. The Deewān was said to be frequently too communicative, and to

prejudice, by this disposition, both his own affairs and those of the state.

The Arabs were, in Major Walker's opinion, the only material obstacle to the complete establishment of the British influence in Goozerat, but he did not consider them to be in reality formidable. Though they were brave, their ferocity rendered them incapable of subordination ; though they were attached to individual chiefs, that very attachment prevented their union under any common system. Their real number was less than seven thousand, of whom no more than one thousand were concentrated in any single position. About a fourth part only of these were natives of Arabia, the remainder were men of Arabian extraction, but born themselves in Goozerat. Their arms, which were chiefly match-locks, were bad, and their knowledge of war was contemptible ; of the forts which were in their possession, Baroda, considered to be the best, was in no state to resist a regular attack. Two battalions of British troops stationed at Baroda were sufficient, Major Walker thought, effectually to counterpoise the power of these mercenaries, and he was sanguine that, when their influence was thus reduced, their situation would appear to themselves to be less desirable, and their numbers would decline. The Arabs were divided into two parties, at the head of which were the bankers, Mungul Pâreekh and Sâmul Bechur. The latter was reputed to possess a cunning, avaricious, and intriguing disposition. He was not well affected towards the British, and the party of Arabs which was under his control was the more numerous.

Rowjee was, at first, very much dissatisfied when he learnt that the British government had it in view to accommodate matters with Mulhâr Row, instead of punishing him by military force. He contended that nothing was to be done without taking Kuree. Major Walker urged, in reply, that this mode of proceeding might be the means of perpetuating the disorder of the country, for, although it would be an easy matter to take Kuree, Mulhâr Row would probably escape, and, for a length of time, harass the borders by a predatory warfare. Rowjee said that it was his intention to request that two of the British battalions should remain to prevent the enemy's return, and

added, that he proposed to repay this assistance by the cession of a convenient tract of country on the sea coast. Kuree should, he said, be taken, with all Mulhâr Row's country, elephants, and horses ; and a jâgheer, worth a lakh of rupees annually, might then be assigned to that chief in a different part of the country. The British envoy was, however, instructed to demand that the fullest authority should be given to him to settle disputes in an equitable manner, and it was intimated that if Rowjee were determined, at all events, on the extirpation of Mulhâr Row, it would be better, perhaps, that British intervention should proceed no further, and that the troops should be recalled. Rowjee, at length, professed that he would be satisfied if the English force would only encamp for a day or two within the limits of the Kuree Jâgheerdâr, in return for that chieftain's invasion of the territories of the Baroda state ; he further offered to resign a large portion of the tribute payable by Mulhâr Row, provided that concession would ensure a peaceable demeanour on his part.

The opinions of Major Walker, as reported to his government, were, that justice and policy alike warranted the punishment of Mulhâr Row should he decline to make submission to his sovereign. Holding his jâgheer as a vassal of the Muhârâjâ, that chief had withheld the payment of his tribute, and when called to account, had taken up arms under pretence of defending himself against a foreign enemy, and notwithstanding a declaration to the contrary, had been guilty of aggressions against his sovereign with the ultimate view of dethroning him. Little weight could be allowed to Mulhâr Row's pretext that he was in arms in behalf of Kânhojee, as that prince had no real claim to the throne, and as Mulhâr Row himself had acquiesced in his deposition, and even celebrated it by a discharge of artillery. His invasion of the Guikowâr territory was also long posterior to that event, and it was accompanied neither by any declaration of hostility, nor even by any previous complaint. If Mulhâr Row remained obstinate the task of reducing him would be a popular one, and its successful accomplishment must necessarily be followed by the acceptance of a subsidiary force. It was, perhaps, even necessary to this object that the British should perform a service which would

be at once apparent, and after a successful expedition to Kuree, the detachment, or a similar body of troops, might, by an easy arrangement, be moved to Baroda, and firmly established there.

The envoy quitted Baroda on the afternoon of the 8th of February, having been completely successful in his mission. Bâbâjee with the Guikowâr forces were put under his command, and he was fully authorized, in case of Mulhâr Row's applying for peace, to act in such a manner as he might deem suitable to the interests and safety of the government of the Muhârâjâ.

CHAPTER IV

MULHÂR ROW GUIKOWÂR

If we have given a more detailed account of these negotiations than may seem to be consistent with the character of our work, our excuse will be found in the fact, that upon them really hinged the future fate of Goozerat. Had the aid of the British been rejected, and had the troops advanced no further than Cambay, the territories of the Baroda government must inevitably have fast relapsed into a state of miserable anarchy and confusion similar to that in which the dominions of Holkar and Sindia were subsequently involved. As it was, affairs progressed rapidly towards that settlement which formed the ground-work of all future political relations in Goozerat.

The British detachment disembarked at Cambay, from Surat, on the morning of the 2nd of February, and encamped in an open spot which, in 1775, had been occupied by the troops of Colonel Keating, contiguous to the reservoir called Nârâyun Sur, a garden-house being assigned for the accommodation of the head-quarters. The forces of Bâbâjee and Mulhâr Row were meanwhile engaged in desultory and indecisive skirmishes, while negotiations, as profitless as the hostilities, still continued. Mulhâr Row's troops numbered altogether, it was said, about fifteen thousand men.[1] Shivrâm,[2] who was the only officer of consequence, commanded about seven hundred Hindoostânees, who affected the semblance of regular discipline; he led also three hundred or four hundred Mahratta horse. An Englishman, named Parker, commanded a corps called the 'Gosâeen's wife's troops,' and one Joaquim, a Portuguese, led about two hundred men, among whom he had attempted to introduce some order, so that 'a few were in red jackets, but 'the greater part went agreeable to their own fancy,' as Parker

[1] This was Parker's account, though he himself varied in his statement. Major Walker estimated them at from ten to twelve thousand horse and foot, with ten or fifteen pieces of artillery, mostly of small calibre.

[2] [See note on Chapter IX, *infra*.]

writes, 'both in dress and fighting.' Sindhis and Puthâns, Kâtees and Koolees, made up the rest of this heterogeneous army. The latter, who were 'armed horse,' wearing the antique tunic of chain armour, were under the command of 'a famous leader, called *Boobut Singh*, who had lately distinguished himself in two or three skirmishes with Bâbâjee's 'troops,' and whom we shall hereafter introduce to our readers as the notorious Thâkurâ of Bhunkora. Bhooput Singh, though now the most distinguished of his partisans, had formerly been the constant enemy of Mulhâr Row. During the administration of Kânhojee he had been sent for to Baroda to be employed, as it was said, against the Jâgheerdâr of Kuree, but happening to be taken into custody at the same time that Kânhojee was seized, he had been released by Rowjee, lest he should, from future resentment, proceed to attack the territories of Mulhâr Row.

The 22nd of February had arrived without any step in advance having been made by the British troops. Meanwhile, Mulhâr Row had been carrying on, with the Arab officers, intrigues which had for their object the release of Kânhojee, while the adherents of the opposite party were dispirited by the delay made by the English, and by the fact that the resident at Cambay had despatched an agent to Kuree. Mulhâr Row refused to disarm his troops, or to give up Veesulnugger and the other places seized by him, which concessions, on his part, were deemed to be indispensable preliminaries to an arrangement. Mr. Duncan, who was now at Cambay, determined, at length, to direct the detachment to march at once, with a view of forming a junction with the army of Bâbâjee. Mulhâr Row was informed that the troops advanced to release from his grasp those parts of the Muhârâjâ's country which he had unjustly taken possession of; he was to be allowed, however, in case of his surrendering them, to come in to Mr. Duncan with an escort of not more than one hundred men, and was informed that he must expect no other terms. Major Walker marched, accordingly, on the 23rd; reached Ahmedabad on the 4th of March; and next day was at Udâlej, where he left his heavy baggage and sick under a guard. Mulhâr Row still continuing to negotiate, without affording any satisfactory proof of his sincerity, the British detachment entered the Kuree territory

on the 10th, leaving behind them the Guikowâr troops, whose irregularities might have afforded ground of complaint. They encamped at Seretah, at which place Mulhâr Row, of his own accord, proposed to have an interview with Major Walker. The meeting took place accordingly, but was attended by circumstances such as, to the mind of the British commander, precluded every hope of a peaceable adjustment. The insincerity and distrust of Mulhâr Row, were established by the extraordinary number of armed attendants with which he appeared at the interview, amounting to more than two thousand horse and foot, with three pieces of artillery. He also evaded his proposed visit to the British camp, and would proceed no further than a place two miles from the camp, where an awning had been spread for the preliminary interchange of compliments. Next evening, however, Mulhâr Row, after many excuses, visited Major Walker, when he promised immediately to disband his new levies, and to comply in every point with the wishes of the British government. He urged, however, that to save his dignity, the terms should be arranged privately through confidential agents, a request with which Major Walker complied. The terms demanded were, that Mulhâr Row should make full satisfaction to the Muhârâjâ, by an entire restitution of all his conquests, by restoring to freedom all Guikowâr subjects who had been seized by him, and repaying all sums levied from them, by arranging for the payment of his arrears of tribute, and of the expenses of the war, and by giving security for future good conduct. His new levies were to be disbanded and his ordinary forces drawn within the walls of Kuree, in the vicinity of which town the British army was to encamp until such time as Major Walker should be satisfied of his sincerity. The British troops, it was settled, were to move at once to Kulol, the Guikowâr forces following at an interval, and the commanding officer was, at that place, to have a final interview with Mulhâr Row. Major Walker having arrived, on the 15th, at Kulol, found the place deserted, and meeting with no intelligence of Mulhâr Row, advanced, on the 16th, to Boodâsun, a village about three miles distant from Kuree. On the approach of the British troops, a few of Mulhâr Row's horse were observed, who retired immediately without committing any act of hostility. An adjoining height was soon

taken possession of, and a picket, with a field piece, was placed in the most commanding position. From the heights thus occupied, Major Walker had a full view of Kuree, with the camp of Mulhâr Row and the whole of his army, which appeared in motion, spreading itself over the plains. The fort of Kuree was small and irregular; it possessed four gates, of which one only, the Futteh gate, was protected by defences newly raised, and mounted with cannon. The residence of Mulhâr Row, inclosed in a sort of citadel, was conspicuous from a distance, especially its large minaret-like tower, the open pavilion, on the summit of which, commanded a good view of the surrounding country. About noon, messengers arrived from Mulhâr Row, who presented letters expressing sentiments of so much moderation, if not submission, that Major Walker was far from suspecting that they were to be made the cloak of an act of treachery. An answer was despatched by the hands of a native agent, named Soondurjee, and of Captain Williams, an officer of the detachment. They had not been gone twenty minutes, and had hardly time to reach the outposts of Mulhâr Row's army, when they were made prisoners, and two guns belonging to that chieftain immediately opened fire upon the British camp. Major Walker held a short consultation with the chiefs of the allies, assigned them their places, and arranged with them that the whole force should advance and assault the enemy's camp. Kumâl-ood-deen Khân, reinforced to nearly a thousand horse, formed, accordingly, on the right flank of the British detachment; while Bâbâjee himself, with the infantry, the rest of the cavalry, and some artillery, was appointed to move on the left. The British detachment, on the allies giving notice of their readiness, began, between two and three o'clock, to advance in line with its field pieces, two howitzers, and two eighteen pounders. It moved forward slowly, but in excellent order, inclining to the right, in order to gain some heights, and to reach the front of the main-body of the enemy. The fire of Mulhâr Row's artillery increased as the British advanced, and the ground was unfortunately favourable to its effect. About five o'clock, however, Major Walker found himself opposite to the enemy's encampment, in full view of it, and about half a mile distant. He was now anxious to have carried out the assault which he had

meditated, but a report was at this time brought to him, that Bâbâjee's division had advanced little beyond their encampment, and that his Arabs refused to move in the direction of the British troops, while it became at the same time evident that Kumâl-ood-deen, who had for a time continued to maintain pretty well the station allotted to him, had now fallen behind, and was unable to keep that flank clear against the superior bodies of the enemy's cavalry. Major Walker was now compelled to relinquish his meditated enterprise, which, without the effectual support of the allies, was of too hazardous a nature, he therefore inclined still further to the right, a step which, while it removed the detachment gradually to a greater distance from the enemy's fire, enabled it also to occupy some rising ground which was possessed by bodies of their horse. In this position the detachment halted until dusk, when it returned, without any interruption from the enemy, to its former encampment. The loss of the enemy was reported to have been considerable, but the casualties on the British side were also heavy. Lieutenant Creagh, of His Majesty's 80th Regiment, and Captains Mac Donald and Lovell, of the Honorable Company's service, were killed. The total loss in killed and wounded was one hundred and forty-six, twenty-five of whom were Europeans, and a six-pounder, the carriage of which had fallen to pieces, was left upon the field.

Major Walker was now satisfied that the war could not, with the forces at his disposal, be terminated by a *coup-de-main*. He resolved, therefore, to adopt the system of the Mahrattas themselves, and agreed, after consulting with Bâbâjee, to erect batteries and to proceed against the enemy's camp as if it were a fortified town. Meanwhile Mr. Duncan, at Cambay, and his colleagues, at the Presidency, exerted themselves to push forwards the largest reinforcements which could be assembled. The whole of the disposable force at Bombay was immediately embarked, and a pressing requisition made to Colonel Sir William Clarke, the British commanding officer at Goa, to join the army before Kuree with the European brigade under his orders, and a battalion of native infantry. His Majesty's ships, *Intrepid* and *Terpsichore*, the Honorable Company's ship, *Cornwallis*, and the *Upton Castle*, were employed to convey the additional troops to the northwards.

For some time a desultory warfare continued before Kuree, the enemy for the most part respecting Major Walker's force, and directing their hostility chiefly against the army of the Guikowâr commanders. Major Walker, on the other hand, finding that his own ammunition was insufficient, that the artillery of Bâbâjee's army was unserviceable, and that that leader's troops, if not actually wanting in courage, nor destitute of fidelity, were still lukewarm, and far less disposed to the cause they had espoused than the brave, though undisciplined, Puthâns, Gosâeens, and Koolees, who composed the force of Mulhâr Row, deemed it his duty to confine himself to defensive measures, or at least to undertake no enterprise which his detachment could not execute without the support of the allies. Negotiations were, at the same time, going on between Major Walker and Mulhâr Row. The former, who was anxious to relieve Captain Williams from the ill-treatment to which, as a captive, he was exposed, even made concessions, but Mulhâr Row only rose in his terms, and the whole conference was productive of no effect.

Sir William Clarke arrived, and took command at Cambay on the 12th April. It had at first been intended that the detachments as they landed should have been sent on at once, but it was ascertained that a thousand of the enemy's horse, under Bhooput Singh of Bhunkora, lay in wait to intercept them, and it was judged prudent to avoid the risk. Sir William Clarke, therefore, marched with the whole force, and joined Major Walker at Boodâsun, on the 24th April, when he found himself at the head of a body of troops which, independently of the allies, amounted to between five and six thousand men, more than two thousand of whom were Europeans. The first task of the British commander was to despatch a message to Mulhâr Row, offering him, for the last time, an opportunity of peaceably submitting to the terms which had been demanded of him. During the consultation which was held at Mulhâr Row's, when the news of Sir William Clarke's arrival was announced, Mookund Row Guikowâr upbraided Shivrâm, Bhooput Singh, and the chief of the Puthâns, with having prevented the peaceable settlement of affairs, and stigmatized them as the authors of the approaching calamity. The other leaders of the party 'looked at each other with much concern;'

Mulhâr Row himself was fearful and agitated, but, for whatever reason, no answer was returned to the summons, and affairs were allowed to take their course. Preparatory to an attack on the town of Kuree, Sir William Clarke found it necessary to disperse the army of the enemy, which was strongly intrenched in its front. The strongest of these works was a battery with a cavalier, forming the right of the enemy's position, defended, as it was said, by twelve hundred or fourteen hundred Puthâns, commanded by an European officer. On the 30th April, a force, consisting of His Majesty's 75th Regiment, with the flank companies of the 84th, and the Honorable Company's grenadier battalion, supported by the remainder of the 84th Regiment and four guns, the whole under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Woodington, prepared to attack this post; they arrived unperceived in the rear of the battery just as the day broke, and immediately carried it at the point of the bayonet. Some of the captured guns were instantly directed against the enemy. The British troops vigorously pursued their advantage, and the whole of the intrenchments in front of Kuree were, before eleven o'clock, in their possession, while the army which had attempted the defence was completely routed and dispersed. This success would have been effected, in so far as the resistance of the enemy had been concerned, with inconsiderable loss, but a tumbril, loaded with ammunition, which had been taken from Mulhâr Row's troops, unfortunately exploded, and was the cause of nearly the whole of the casualties which occurred.[1] Mulhâr Row's camp and the neighbouring village of Cudale, were plundered and set on fire, and his

[1] The following is the

Return of Killed and Wounded,—

Europeans	killed, 22;	wounded, 82	= 104	} = 162
Natives	,, 6;	,, 52	= 58	
	including			

Officers Killed,—

Lieutenant Francis Ivie, Her Majesty's 84th Regiment.
,, David Price, ,, 86th ,,

Officers Wounded,—

Lieutenant Henry Polcher, 1st (or Grenadier) Battalion.
,, Henry Roome, 1st Battalion 6th Regiment.

troops, flying to the gates of the town, found them barricaded against their entrance, and received orders to disperse. They re-formed for a moment on the opposite side of Kuree, but were soon again in the greatest confusion. In the moment of alarm Mulhâr Row released Captain Williams, whom he had treacherously seized and detained, and that officer, accompanied by Soondurjee, arrived in the evening at the British camp.

Bâbâjee, who immediately despatched an account of this success to his brother, was in raptures with the valour of his allies, and the happy prospect thereby opened to himself and his friends. 'I was quite astonished, Bâbâ Sâhib!' he says, 'to see the manner in which the English fought. I do not 'suppose anybody in the world can fight like them. They 'completed their intention in six hours, and Kuree, by the 'good fortune of Shreemunt, must fall in two days. From 'Cudale to Kuree is about half a kos. The English line is 'close to the ditch. The effect of bringing the English here 'will diffuse a proper and just sense of your wisdom, and will 'make them respected and feared, not only by your enemies, 'but by all the world, for their great bravery, by which means 'all our care is over, for now we shall have it in our power 'to do all we like.'

The release of Captain Williams, and Soondurjee, by Mulhâr Row, led to a further intimation to him from Sir William Clarke, and the day after the action that chief, having sent word that he would surrender, a small party was, by his own desire, sent to one of the gates of the town to escort him into the British camp. He had even taken his place in the palanquin at the gateway when he was prevented from proceeding by the remonstrances and apparent resistance of his own people. A breaching battery was therefore commenced, and made rapid progress, and on the 3rd of May, Mulhâr Row actually surrendered himself on no other terms than those of safety to himself and family. Two days afterwards the fort of Kuree was completely evacuated by the enemy, and taken possession of by the allied forces, the British and Guikowâr flags being displayed together thereon. It was found to contain thirty-seven pieces of ordnance of various calibre, besides elephants, camels, and a great quantity of ammunition and stores.

The fall of Kuree was immediately followed by the establish-

ment of British influence at Baroda. As early as the month of March a convention had been concluded between Mr. Duncan and Rowjee Âppâjee, by which the Guikowâr state confirmed for ever its cession of the Chourâsee pergunnah and the chouth, and assigned, in security for the payment of the expenses of the British troops, its share of the Uttâveesee district, near Surat. By a secret article, which was not to be carried into effect until the end of the war, the Baroda government also agreed to permanently subsidize about two thousand native infantry, one company of European artillery, and its proportion of Lascars, the expenses of which force were also to be made good by an assignment of territory in such part of the Guikowâr dominions as might best suit the convenience of the contracting parties. The Arab force was also to be reduced. On the 4th of June, the government of Ânund Row Guikowâr, in testimony of their sense of the assistance offered to them by the British, made a free present to the Company of the district of Cheeklee, in the Surat Uttâveesee; and two days afterwards a further agreement was entered into, by which the convention of March, and the cession of Cheeklee, were formally confirmed, and it was provided that the British government should advance money for the payment of the Arabs who were to be reduced,—the loan being secured on the pergunnahs of Baroda, Korul, Zinore, Pitlâd and Ahmedabad. On the same day, a deed was executed by Muhârâjâ Ânund Row, in which he agreed to assign the pergunnah of Dholka towards defraying the charges of the subsidiary force for future services, and to place it in possession of the British from the commencement of the Hindoo year, 1860 (A. D. 1804). A further bond was at the same time passed for the expenses of the troops during the first year, being 780,000 rupees. It stipulated a 'jaydad,'[1] or assignment of land for 50,000 rupees, in the villages of Nerriâd, and pledged for the discharge of the balance the revenue of Kuree, with the Moolukgeeree collections from Kâteewâr, for the years 1857–8 (A. D. 1801–2). On the 7th of June, Major Walker was directed to enter upon his duties as resident at Baroda. He arrived accordingly at that place on the 11th

[1] [*Jāědād*, 'that which gives place or position,' an assignment of revenue for the maintenance of an establishment, or of troops.]

July, and was received with great attention by the Guikowâr government. His tents were pitched, at Rowjee's suggestion, in a suburban garden within sight of the minister's own residence, and in that situation he hoisted the British flag.

A few days before, news had arrived of the successful termination of a second revolt against the government of Ânund Row. Gunput Row, a relative of the Guikowâr family, had long ago endeavoured to possess himself of the supreme power in preference to the late Muhârâjâ Gowind Row, notwithstanding which, the good nature and easy temper of that prince had assigned to him the small district and stronghold of Sunkheira, at a moderate revenue, which he had of late withheld, intending, in co-operation with Mulhâr Row, to establish his independence. Since the fall of Kuree he had, however, been compelled to shut himself up in his castle, which, though mounting only a couple of guns, and otherwise contemptible in point of means of defence, had sustained an attack by the Guikowâr troops. Gunput Row had also been joined by Morâr Row, one of the illegitimate brothers of the Muhârâjâ. A detachment of British troops under Captain Bethune soon joined the Guikowâr force, and on the 7th July the fort of Sunkheira surrendered under a capitulation, which secured the lives and private property of the garrison. Gunput Row and Morâr Row had, however, escaped on foot, with a few attendants, the night preceding the capitulation, and now took refuge at Dhâr, with Bappoo Powâr, a son-in-law of the late Gowind Row, and a considerable jâgheerdâr in Malwa.

The attention of both the Guikowâr ministry and the British resident was now for some months occupied in the difficult task of dispersing the Arab militia, who had for so many years controlled every movement of the state. Into the details of these transactions it is unnecessary for us to enter,—sufficient to observe that the aid of British troops was found indispensable, and that the Arab chiefs, besieged in the town of Baroda, were at length compelled to capitulate to a force under the command of Colonel Woodington, on the 26th December, 1802.

The steps by which British influence was introduced into Goozerat have thus been sketched. We may take the present opportunity of briefly noticing its future progress.

A definitive treaty of general defensive alliance was concluded with the Guikowâr on the 21st April, 1805, for the purpose of consolidating the stipulations contained in preceding agreements, and making some additions and alterations which were deemed expedient. The Guikowâr had previously received a subsidiary force of two thousand men, and he now engaged to maintain three thousand, who were to be stationed within his territory, but employed only on occasions of importance. Districts yielding 11,70,000 rupees were assigned for their support. The districts of Chourásee, Cheeklee, and Kaira, together with the chouth of Surat, were ceded to the British, and the revenue of other districts was appropriated for liquidating the debt due to them by the Guikowâr's government.[1]

[1] The following is a 'Statement of the cessions from the government of Ânund Row Guikowâr, and Jaydad, to the Hon. East India Company,' being one of the papers by Gungâdhur Shâshtree, appended to Colonel Walker's Report of 1st January, 1806.

Enams.	rupees.		
Killahdary of Kaira	42,000		
Pergunnah of Cheeklee	76,000		
Chouth of Surat Bunder	50,000		
Pergunnah of Chourásee	90,000		
		2,58,000	
Jaydad.			
Pergunnah of Nerriâd	1,75,000		
Dholka	4,50,000		
Beejâpoor	1,30,000		
Mâtur	1,30,000		
Moondeh	1,10,000		
Tuppa of Kuree Pergunnah	25,000		
Customs of Kimcatodrah[a]	50,000		
Annual Wurâts[b] on Kâteewâr	1,00,000		
		11,70,000	
			14,28,000

[a] [Kimkatodra is a double name. Kim is a station on the B.B.C.I. Railway, eleven miles from Surat. Katodra is probably *Karodra*, the *Crowda* of Roe (Foster, *Embassy*, p. 503), eleven miles from Surat on the Burhânpur road.]

[b] [Wurâts = *Barât* (Persian), an assignment on revenue. See *English Factories*, 1618–21, i. 201, *note* 322, &c. They are the 'securities from bankers', p. 54, line 1.]

No settlement between the governments of Baroda and Poonah had taken place since the accession of Gowind Row. On the suppression of the rebellion of Âbâ Sheelokur, the Guikowâr agreed to hold Ahmedabad in farm from the Peshwah, including the tribute of Kâteewâr, with the districts of Pitlâd, Nâpâr, Choorâ-Rânpoor, Dhundhooka, and Gogo, and some rights in Cambay. By the treaty of Bassein, however, the districts of Rânpoor, Gogo, and Dhundhooka, and the Peshwah's rights in Cambay, were ceded to the British government. A lease of the remainder was granted by the Poonah government to the Guikowâr for ten years, from June, 1804. But on the expiration of this term, the proposed renewal of the lease was positively rejected by the Peshwah, who had now become anxious to increase his political influence in Goozerat and Trimbukjee Dainglia,[1] in 1815, having obtained the appointment of Sur-Soubahdâr, took possession of the districts in that province in the Peshwah's name, and began to use the influence thus obtained in intriguing against the British power. By the treaty of Poonah, in 1817, the Peshwah, however, bound himself to disavow this turbulent chieftain; he relinquished at the same time all future demands on the Guikowâr,

[1] [Trimbakji Denglia was originally a *jāsūd* or confidential messenger of the last Peshwa. About 1812 he became the *âme damnée* of that Prince, and the leader of the low favourites who surrounded Bājirāo in the court at Poona, encouraging him in the vices and the anti-British policy which led to his overthrow. Trimbakjī was made Sarsūbhā of Ahmadābād in 1814, and soon became notorious for his cruelty. At the same time he began intriguing with the Baroda Darbār against the English. His crimes reached a head when he hired bravoes to murder, in the open street at Pandharpur, Gangādhar Śāstri, the Gaikwār's envoy to the Peshwa's court, whose safety had been guaranteed by the British Government. For this the Peshwa was forced to surrender Trimbakjī, who was confined in the Thāna Jail. In 1816, however, he escaped in a romantic fashion with the aid of a syce or groom, and fled to the Dekhan hills, where he soon commenced a guerilla warfare with the Peshwa's connivance. This was ended by the treaty of Poona in 1817. He took a prominent part in the last Marātha war, notably at the battle of Koregāon, and after the Peshwa's surrender in 1818, was hunted down in Khāndesh and sent a prisoner to Bengal. Some account of this picturesque scoundrel will be found in that brilliant but forgotten novel *Pāndurang Hari*, by W. B. Hockley, which contains perhaps the best sketch ever written of contemporary life in the Dekhan.]

and compromised all past claims, and he ceded his revenue in Goozerat, with the exception of Oolpâr, to the British government.

On the 6th November, in the same year, a further treaty was concluded at Baroda, by which the Guikowâr, who had secured important advantages by the treaty of Poonah, acceded to a plan for the consolidation of the territories of the respective governments in Goozerat, engaged to increase his subsidiary force by an addition of one thousand regular infantry and two regiments of cavalry, and assigned to the British government, for defraying the increased expense, districts lying conveniently for the meditated consolidation.

CHAPTER V

MOOLUKGEEREE IN KÂTEEWÂR[1]

We have already seen that the Kings of Unhilpoor and the Sultans of Ahmedabad pursued in the main a very similar policy in regard to their neighbours. When they found themselves strong enough to do so, they effected a complete conquest, but, in the more numerous cases, where subjugation was impracticable, they contented themselves with the exaction of a tribute rather than prosecute a doubtful contest to extremity. During the government of Goozerat by the Sultans, and afterwards by the Imperial Soubahdârs stationed at Ahmedabad, the Mohummedan authority was supported by garrisons, placed in fortified positions throughout the country, which ensured to some extent the regular collection of the tributary revenue, and rendered expeditions for its enforcement, except in special cases, unnecessary. These posts were, however, gradually withdrawn or driven out, and amid the frequent scenes of anarchy which were witnessed during the last days of the Mogul government, not a few were the result of endeavours to collect the revenue due from the tributaries by annual military expeditions. This course, which with the Mohummedans was compulsory and exceptional, was with their successors congenial and regular. It was a prominent feature in the policy of the Mahrattas that their sole object, in almost every country to which their arms extended, was the enforcement of a payment. It was not until some time

[1] [*Mulākgiri* is a Persian word, meaning a conquering or taking of countries. It signifies in Marāthi an expedition to enforce payment of revenue. See *Bomb. Gaz.*, vol. vii (Baroda), ch. vii, pp. 315–18. Professor J. Sarkar (*Shivājī and his Times*, Calcutta, 1919, pp. 479–81) says the idea was derived from the Mahommedans. The Korān enjoins raids into the *dār ul harb* or infidel states. The *Sabhāsad Bakhar* (trans. J. L. Mankar, as *Life and Exploits of Shivaji*, Bombay, 1884–6) actually states (p. 29) that 'The Marātha forces should feed themselves at the expense of foreign countries for eight months every year, and levy blackmail'.]

after experience had taught them the advantages, towards the creation of a revenue, which a permanent settlement would yield, that their thoughts were even directed to a regular administration of the countries which they had subdued. 'When the Mahrattas,' says their historian, 'proceeded 'beyond their boundary, to collect revenue and to make war 'were synonymous; whenever a village resisted, its officers 'were seized, and compelled by threats, and sometimes by 'torture, more or less severe, to come to a settlement; ready 'money was seldom obtained, but securities from bankers,[1] 'with whom all the villages had dealing, were preferable, as 'they were exchanged for bills payable in any part of India. 'When the garrisons of fortified places made an unsuccessful 'resistance they were put to the sword.' These expeditions, so peculiarly suited to the mercenary temper of the Mahrattas, were called 'Moolukgeeree,' or circuits of the country.[2] On their first appearance in Goozerat, the example of their Mohummedan predecessors, and the circumstances of the country, as well as their own predilections, led them to the adoption of these tributary expeditions. Bodies of three thousand or four thousand predatory horse, without guns or camp equipage, pursued their plundering march through those parts of the country which were still possessed by Rajpoot chiefs, and adjusted the amount of their demands to the ability of the Bhoomeeâ to comply, or their own power to enforce. As the government of the country became more settled, the Moolukgeeree expeditions were undertaken with a certain number of irregular infantry, and began to assume more permanent features. It was a principle of the Mahratta commanders to increase the amount of their exactions, if possible, or at least not to recede from the demands of their predecessors, and so tenacious were they of this latter rule, that, in cases of arrears of tribute, a payment for two years at the former rate was preferred by them to a complete settlement on more moderate terms. With the Rajpoot chieftains, on the other hand, it was equally a point of honor to resist as long as possible the levy of any tribute whatever, and, in the last resort, to secure the most favourable terms in their power.

1 [See p. 50, *note* 1 b.] 2 [See *note* 1, p. 53.]

A Moolukgeeree army seldom possessed power sufficient to subjugate a country, or to reduce its fortresses, which were sure to be defended with obstinacy; it carried on its operations therefore against the open towns and villages, selecting the season of harvest for its period of action, with the view not only of compelling the more speedy acquiescence of the chieftain, but also of securing the more ready means of subsistence for the troops. As the Mahratta army approached the territory of the chief from whom the tribute was demanded, it was his duty, if he meditated no opposition, to despatch an accredited agent to the boundary line, furnished with the means of affording security for his compliance with all reasonable demands. His estate was thereupon secured from predatory acts on the part of the invading army, by the presence, in each village, of one or more horsemen of the advanced guard, called 'Bândhurs.'[1] When, however, the chieftain evinced a determination to resist, or even exhibited no indication of an early settlement, the Pindârees were thrown out on all sides, and the march of the army was thenceforth marked by every species of plunder and desolation; the ripe crops were swept from the fields, the villages were wantonly fired and destroyed, nothing was allowed to remain but the bare walls of the houses, and it frequently happened that every acre of his lands was left bare, and every hamlet in his territory reduced to a heap of smouldering ruins before the Rajpoot chieftain condescended to the payment of the tribute demanded.

The Moolukgeeree tribute was, in process of time—principally under the direction of Shivrâm Gârdee, the officer of regular troops already mentioned—raised very considerably above its original standard. In addition, also, to the tribute, properly so called, and which had been realized by the former paramount powers, the Mahrattas exacted payments under a variety of other heads, as for instance, that of grass and grain for the horses of their cavalry, and that more comprehensive item, still, of 'extra expenses.' The tributary country was subsequently divided into two districts,—*Kâteewâr*, which included the Peninsula of Soreth, with the

[1] [*Bāndār*, a bowman.]

lands of the Jhâlâs and other contiguous territory, and the *Myhee Kântâ*, which extended from the banks of that river to Umbâ Bhuwânee and the Runn of Kutch.[1]

Several causes, arising from the usurpation of the Arab mercenaries, the death of the Muhârâjâ Gowind Row, and the insurrections of Kânhojee and Mulhâr Row, had contributed to prevent the dispatch of the usual army into Kâteewâr, and the tributary revenue in that province had accordingly fallen into arrears since the year A. D. 1798–9. It fell to the lot of Bâbâjee Âppâjee to collect these arrears of tribute, and he accordingly proceeded on that service shortly after the fall of Kuree, in A. D. 1802. During the intervening period, the chieftains of Kâteewâr had fortified themselves, and prepared for resistance, and the treasure which might have been appropriated in payment of the tribute was dissipated in various pursuits, particularly in the prosecution of their own dissensions. Their apprehensions were also further excited by the report that it was Bâbâjee's determination to enforce the whole of his demands at once. Having subjugated the Desâee of Pâtree, who was a partisan of Mulhâr Row, Bâbâjee entered Kâteewâr, and after a series of successful operations in which he was engaged with Mâleeâ, Moorbee, Joonagurh, Bhownugger, and Wudwân, and suppressing a dangerous insurrection of the Jâgheerdâr of Kuree, by taking that person and his son prisoners, he finally liquidated the whole arrears of tribute due from the country, and established in it a state of subordination and order superior to any that had been witnessed for centuries. In the course of this circuit of the Guikowâr general, however, successful as it was to an extent far beyond expectation or the real strength of his government, there were not wanting sufficient indications that the chieftains of the peninsula submitted the more readily

[1] An estimate of the Moolukgeeree revenue from these two provinces, furnished to Colonel Walker by the Guikowâr authorities, in A. D. 1802, showed the following amounts :—

Province.	*Guikowâr Share.*	*Peshwâh Share.*	*Total.*
	Rupees.	*Rupees.*	*Rupees.*
Kâteewâr . .	4,09,521	5,38,019	9,47,540
Myhee Kântâ . .	3,00,622	15,000	3,15,622

to Bâbâjee's terms, from their knowledge of the dependence of himself and of his sovereign on the far greater resources of the British power. They feared, in fact, to use their own words, 'that the army of the Feringees might be spread 'abroad.' Under these circumstances, motives of sound policy, as well as those of humanity, and a due regard to British reputation, rendered it necessary that an influence already powerful, though unseen, should be openly acknowledged and fully defined.

At an early stage of the British connection with the Guikowâr government, it had been discovered that a considerable portion of the resources of the Baroda state depended on a punctual realization of its tributary revenue in Kâteewâr, while the large arrears due at that period rendered their recovery an object of no common importance. The Guikowâr ministry were extremely diffident of their ability to recover this revenue, unless with the aid of the British, and the increase of the subsidiary force to three battalions of native infantry, as well as the stipulation in the definitive treaty that one of the battalions should proceed to Kâteewâr whenever real necessity required it, principally arose from this impression of their weakness. The British government thus found itself indirectly pledged to the realization of an object which, if pursued in the mode expected by its allies, would have to be effected at the price of a departure from its usual principles and policy. As early as 15th December, 1802, the supreme government, of which the Marquis of Wellesley was then the head, was, therefore, induced to express its opinion, that if an amicable arrangement could be made with the several chieftains of the peninsula for the regular payment of their tribute, without the necessity for the periodical advance of a military force, an acceptable service would thereby be rendered alike to the Guikowâr state, and to the British interests in Goozerat. There were thus, in truth, concurring circumstances, which operated to render necessary such an interference on the part of the British in the affairs of Kâteewâr. To the voluntary payment of their tribute by the chieftains, the Guikowâr government looked forward for the means of effecting a large reduction in its overgrown military establishments; it antici-

pated also a valuable addition to its resources from funds which hitherto had been swallowed up in the enormous expenses of collection; but it looked to its allies for the means of effecting these desirable objects. The British authorities, on the other hand, while formally engaged and sincerely desirous to assist the Guikowâr state, felt repugnance to lending their aid for so questionable an object as the carrying out a Moolukgeeree expedition, though they could contemplate, with honest satisfaction, the advantages which the principalities of Kâteewâr would derive from an arrangement that ameliorated a custom so oppressive; though they had reason to believe that their mediation would be readily accepted by the chieftains, and though they were well aware that, as matters then stood, the Baroda state must, in default of their active interference, continue to carry out its objects in the peninsula of Goozerat by means which, however opposed to the principles of the British government, still derived the greater part of their efficacy from its presumed support.

Though these principles had been for some time admitted, it was not until the 3rd April, 1807, that the government of Bombay found themselves in a position to enter upon the task of carrying them into effect. Colonel Walker, having been selected as the officer uniting the essential qualifications of requisite information and local influence, was, on that day, instructed to assume the command of a detachment destined, in co-operation with a sufficient contingent of the Guikowâr troops, to proceed with those special objects into the peninsula of Soreth.

Means had previously been adopted, as has been noticed, for the purpose of sounding the chieftains of Kâteewâr in regard to their willingness to accept of British mediation for the permanent arrangement of their tribute, and the discontinuance of military expeditions for its realization. Though the result had been favourable, it was not long after the appearance of the detachment in Kâteewâr, before Colonel Walker discovered how little the chiefs contemplated a really disinterested course of action on the part of the British government. 'The circular addresses to the chieftains,' says that officer, 'were hardly believed to be sincere, and some extra-

'ordinary and curious communications were the result of the 'advance of the troops, and discovered the sentiments of the 'country. It was most natural to suppose that our object 'was a Moolukgeeree circuit on our own account, and I accord-'ingly received some proposals extolling the acquaintance of 'the parties with the arts of exaction and the bravery of their 'troops, which would be exerted, without exposing those of 'the Company, for a participation in the spoils. The Mâleeâ[1] 'Raja wished to turn the command of a passage over the 'Runn to account, and proposed a joint plundering excursion 'into Chor Wâgur, Kutch, and Sindh. Others, again, con-'ceived our object was to supplant the rights of the Guikowâr 'government, and these were prepared to offer the most lavish 'assurances of dependence upon the Company, and exhibited 'some attempts to neglect the Guikowâr. Some insidious 'attempts were even made to raise our suspicions of the 'fidelity of Guikowâr government. It was necessary to be 'prepared against these attempts, and discourage them on 'their first appearance. Their intention was insidious, and 'would have been productive of every serious consequence 'that could flow from disunion of conduct and want of cor-'diality in the pursuit of an object of joint interest. My 'endeavours were, therefore, directed to convince the Bhoo-'meeâs that the Company's troops appeared in Kâteewâr as 'the allies of the Guikowâr, and that their object was to 'promote an ultimate arrangement of the country under the 'Company's mediation, having, in view, the advantage of the 'Guikowâr state, and the permanent interests of the Bhoo-'meeâs themselves.'

The efforts of Colonel Walker, which were ably seconded by Wittul Row Deewân, the commander of the Guikowâr troops, soon revived the confidence of the Bhoomeeâs; and an opportunity was found for establishing incontestably the disinterested intentions of the British, in the restoration to its owner of the fort of Kundornâ, which, having been seized by the chief of Nowânugger, was rescued by the detachment from his hands. The feeling of the Bhoomeeâs now sustained

[1] [Mālia, a state in the Kāthiāwār Political Agency (*Imp. Gaz.*, xvii, 86 f.).]

a complete revulsion; and some of the weaker chieftains began to entertain chimerical expectations, and to look forward to an indefinite redress of injuries from the justice of the British government. Though anxiously embracing every opportunity of affording protection to those to whom it could be extended with advantage, and though actually successful in restoring many outlaws to their homes, and in preventing many acts of oppression, the British envoy found it necessary to confine his attempts, as a general rule, to the one object of providing for the Bhoomeeâs security in time to come, without entering into the discussion of cases of doubtful or irremediable misfortune. His chief difficulty lay in assuming a just standard for a revenue, which had hitherto been so fluctuating and undetermined. It was evident, on the one hand, that the Baroda government had reason to expect, if not an increase to their revenue, at least its maintenance on an undiminished footing—the rather under the intimate knowledge which the British possessed of their necessities. The Bhoomeeâ chieftains, on the other hand, were induced to rely upon British influence for their protection from excessive exactions, and from the permanent establishment of a tribute beyond their means to defray.

The existing rate of tribute had been increased under the administration of Bâbâjee and others, principally under the item of 'extra expenses,' to an amount to which the Bhoomeeâs had submitted with reluctance, which had been calculated upon the utmost revenues of their territories, and which was unfit for the basis of a permanent settlement, both because it had not been in existence for a sufficient length of time to constitute a precedent, and still more, because, as was evident, it could not have been realized in successive years without recourse to coercion. A small reduction was therefore granted to almost every chieftain principally under the item above-mentioned. Engagements were then entered into, under the guarantee of the British government, which assured to the Baroda state the punctual payment of the tribute upon the rate determined, while they bound the chieftains of the country to refrain from those mutual aggressions and acts of depredation and violence which had formerly kept the country

in a state of continual suffering; the petty states on the sea-coast covenanted to relinquish piracy, and resigned the right to property in wrecks that might happen within their territories; the Jhâreja and Jetwâ Râjpoots[1] at the same time, by a solemn act, proclaimed the abrogation of their inhuman practice of female infanticide; while the mediating power pledged itself to protect the country from oppression, and to relieve it from the injuries which it had hitherto annually sustained from the circuit of a Moolukgeeree army. In order, however, to ensure permanency to these engagements, and to confirm to the Guikowâr government that ascendancy on which so many advantages depended, it was determined to station within the peninsula a military force composed of a contingent of Mahratta horse and one battalion of the British subsidiary troops.

As the result of the arrangements thus ably concluded through the influence of the British envoy, the chieftains of Kâteewâr were gratified by seeing one of the most oppressive sources of exaction considerably ameliorated, and its future amount finally determined, while on the other hand, the rights of the Guikowâr government (no longer, as formerly, based upon the mere superiority arising from more powerful resources) were now solemnly and formally recognized by the voluntary acts of the chieftains of the country themselves, and established, for the future, upon the same foundations as those engagements which connect more civilized states with each other,—'an advantage,' says Colonel Walker, 'in the 'most complete sense of the term, which no government pre-'ceding that of the Guikowâr had yet been able to obtain.'

[1] [For the Jādeja or Jāreja and Jaithva or Jethva Rājput tribe, see Tod, *Annals*, ed. 1920, i, 102, 136.]

CHAPTER VI

THE WÂGHELAS—THE KUSBÂTEES OF DHOLKA—THE JHÂLÂS

We may now pass in review such of the Rajpoot houses as were found in existence by Colonel Walker, when the various districts of Goozerat which have been mentioned passed into British hands, and when the influence of the British government was, through the engagements lately concluded, extended over other parts of the country.

Of the younger branch of the royal Wâghelas, we have had nothing to record from the time of Ahmed Shah to the present period.[1] The chief of Sânund, or of Kot, was now discovered by Colonel Walker, holding the first position among the independent 'grâssiâs'[2] of the district of Dholka, and though possessor of but twenty-four villages, still assuming the title of raja, and boasting of his high descent from the forgotten kings of Unhilpoor. His principal town of Kot, though undefended by fortifications, was encircled by an impenetrable belt of jungle, and he retained in his service a force of two thousand irregular infantry, and one hundred and fifty horse, who mounted guard at his residence, and were engaged to defend his person or to wage hostilities, 'like the troops of 'a sovereign prince.' His relation, the chief of Gângur, possessed villages, which though only eight in number, constituted a very valuable estate, and maintained an armed force of one thousand men.

[1] *Vide* vol. i, 328 ff.

[2] [The old *garāsias* of Gujarāt were *zamīndārs* and *vatandārs*, hereditary landholders mostly dating from Musalmān times and paying a fixed *jama* or tribute to the ruling power. Under the Marāthas a new class of *garāsias* sprang up, mere robber chiefs who seized lands wherever opportunity offered and built strongholds whence they could levy *toda garās* or blackmail on the surrounding country. They haunted the hill-country (*mehwāsi*) on the east of the great Gujarāt plain (*rāsti*), which was the favourite scene of their devastations.]

Each of these chiefs paid to the paramount power a yearly tribute, the amount of which, however, varied according to circumstances. The general government, as was stated by Colonel Walker, possessed no right of interference with their internal administration beyond that of enforcing the payment of their tribute, and preventing any disturbance on their part of the peace of the country.

In the immediate vicinity of the Wâghelas were the Kusbâtees [1] of Dholka, a numerous and warlike body of Mohummedans, inhabiting the chief town of the district, and who were regarded by the Mahratta governments as an useful counterpoise to the power of the Rajpoot grâssiâs. The Kusbâtees were of three classes—Menâs, Rehens, and Purmârs ; the two former were reputed to have come from Delhi at the close of the sixteenth century ; the last were, as their name implies, of Rajpoot blood, and were in fact the descendants of that branch of the Purmârs of Moolee, which, we have already beheld, settled at Botâd, as converts to the Mohummedan religion.[2]

In A. D. 1654, say the bards, a quarrel having arisen between the brothers who then held Botâd, one of them, named Mullik Mohummed, went off in anger to Dholka. His grandson, Kumâl Mohummed, left seven sons, who, with two hundred horse, which they commanded, served Ubhye Singh Râthor during the time of his government of Ahmedabad, and afterwards followed the Nowaub Kumâl-ood-deen (or Juwân-Murd Khân) Bâbee. When the latter was compelled to surrender Ahmedabad, the Purmârs retired to Joonagurh, where they served for many years. At length, as they were in arrears of pay, the Nowaub of Joonagurh assigned to them his rights

[1] [Kasbâti means townsman. The Kasbâtis were mostly the descendants of soldiers who had grown rich by plunder or moneylending and had raised themselves to be middlemen and landlords. They were treated with leniency by the Gâikwârs, and were enabled to settle the rental on the villages under their management, to imprison debtors, and to exact sums from merchants in return for protection. Some of the sailors of the Gogha coast also are Kasbâtis. The Gogha district now supplies many of the best Lascars of our mercantile marine.]

[2] *Vide* vol. i, p. 348.

of tribute upon Gâreeâdhâr, which he found himself unable to realize. The brothers had been previously on very intimate terms with the Gâreeâdhâr people, and therefore they set off thither joyfully, taking with them their families as well as their military retainers. The villagers were very much distressed, and determined to rid themselves of their burden; but in the meantime, in order to prevent any suspicion, they each of them received a horseman, and entertained him hospitably. At length, one night when the horsemen had retired to rest, a signal was given by beat of drum, and each householder put to death his guest. Mullik Futteh Mohummed and Mullik Uchâ, two of the Purmâr brothers, were the only survivors; the remaining brothers, and the whole of their retainers, perished.

When the news reached Dholka the cry was that great oppression had been committed. The two Tâlookdârs also said,—'If they had been slain in fight we should not have 'grieved, but they have been oppressed fraudulently. We 'will become Fukeers.' Their friends persuaded them not to become Fukeers, but to take revenge. They agreed, and when they had purchased new horses, they returned to Joonagurh to serve the Nowaub with new men. For a few years they found no opportunity of revenge, but at length the Guikowâr army going its rounds in Kâteewâr, Neewâz Khân Rehen, the Dholka Kusbâtee, went with the Mahrattas, and as the Rehens and the Purmârs were on good terms, Mullik Futteh Mohummed and Mullik Uchâ accompanied him. Neewâz Khân paid the tribute due to the Guikowâr from Gâreeâdhâr, and then attacked and destroyed the village in revenge for the Tâlookdârs, ploughing it up with donkeys, and sowing it with salt. The Purmârs seized the village head-man, and his two daughters, whom they made their concubines.

Kumâl Mohummed had acquired wealth; but his eldest son, Mullik Nâmunt, had used his sword so well as to add to the family riches, and he had obtained several villages also. He was called the Tâlookdâr of Keshree, an estate of sixteen villages. After his death at Gâreeâdhâr, his brother, Futteh Mohummed, became his heir, but he, too, died in A. D. 1746, and was succeeded by his son, Sher Meeâ, who ruled his

Tâlook well, made good use of his sword, and increased his possessions.

Sher Meeâ died in A. D. 1799, and was succeeded by his son, Bhâwâ Meeâ.

Mullik Uchâ, the brother of Futteh Mohummed, received no part of his father's property, but by his good-fortune he acquired villages of his own, and having founded a new house, was styled Tâlookdâr of Dhunwârâ, which estate is also in the Dholka district. He died in A. D. 1765, and left three sons. The eldest son, Nânâ Meeâ, succeeded his father, and died in A. D. 1799, without a successor. His brothers received no share of their father's property, but acquired villages by their own strength. Their sister, Mool Beebee, had been married to Sher Meeâ, and though Bhâwâ Meeâ was the son of another wife, yet as he was thus in a manner the nephew of Nânâ Meeâ, he became his heir, and inherited five villages, an elephant, two hundred horses, and other property.

Soon after Bhâwâ Meeâ's succession, a body of plundering Jutt horsemen, four hundred in number, attacked one of his villages, supposing that as Sher Meeâ was dead they could do so with impunity. Though they had often been beaten off by Sher Meeâ, yet this time they carried off the cattle, and brought them to Keshree, where they drew rein. Here they oppressed the people much, and though the villagers said, 'This is Sher Meeâ's village, if his horsemen arrive you will 'suffer for it;' the Jutts paid no attention, but only said, 'Sher Meeâ is gone, and his son is in the cradle.' Bhâwâ Meeâ heard, at Dholka, what had happened; he immediately mounted his horse, and set out, followed by about sixty horsemen. At this time he was twenty-two years old. When he came up with the plundering horsemen, he went in among them without any consideration, and used his sword in a manner beyond his years. The forayers soon took to flight, leaving five of their number dead and many wounded. When the people at Dholka knew that the Tâlookdâr had set off to attack the Jutts, a large body of horsemen mounted, and hastened to his assistance, but they were not in time for the battle, and before they even reached the ground, they met

Bhâwâ Meeâ and his party returning with the horses they had captured, and the heads of the five Jutts that had been slain.

At this time, the Jutts and Kâtees roamed about the country in large bodies, as freely as if they had been government troops. The ancestors of Bhâwâ Meeâ had often defeated them, and there was a deadly feud between them on that account, but as he had shown so much valor at so early an age, and his reputation went on increasing day by day, the Jutts feared to encounter him.

Sher Meeâ had served the Peshwah, but Bhâwâ Meeâ had attached himself to the Guikowâr, and gained great distinction. When the Baroda army advanced against Ahmedabad, in A.D. 1800, to drive out Shelookur, Bhâwâ Meeâ was with them, followed by two hundred horse, and when, in A.D. 1802, the Guikowâr called in the British to aid him against Mulhâr Row, and the British force which had disembarked at Cambay, found difficulty in advancing from thence to Kuree, the Guikowâr wrote to Bhâwâ Meeâ, who attended the troops to Kuree with two hundred horse, and was on very good terms with the British.

Bhâwâ Meeâ, after having attained great reputation, died in A.D. 1812, leaving two sons, Bâpoo Meeâ and Mullik Meeâ, of whom the elder succeeded him. The Tâlooka consisted at this time of thirty villages.

Such was the leading family of the Kusbâtees, of Dholka, alluded to by Colonel Walker. He mentions that they were a bold and turbulent people, some of whom commanded the services of a considerable number of horsemen, whom they hired out to such of the neighbouring powers as required them. They held almost all of the peaceable part of the Dholka district in mortgage for payments of revenue in advance, and had thereby much extended their influence.

We have little to record of the fortunes of the Jhâlâs for many years after their establishment at Pâtree.[1] In the time of Muhârânâ Chundrasunghjee,[2] who is said to have been

[1] *Vide* vol. i, pp. 287 ff.

[2] [Chandrasinghjī reigned from 1584 to 1628 (*Kāth. Gaz.* p. 426). He visited Jahāngir in 1618. (*Memoirs*, trans. Rogers and Beveridge, i, 428.)]

the fifteenth in descent from Hurpâl, through his eldest son, Shedo, or Shodojee, the chief seat of the Jhâlâs had already been removed from Pâtree to Hulwud, another town on the banks of the lesser Runn of Kutch ; and, during his reign, or immediately afterwards, this branch of the house of Hurpâl was again subdivided into chieftainships, which still retain their independence. Prutheerâj, the elder son of Chundrasunghjee, lost his inheritance, but became the founder of the houses of Wânkâner and Wudwân ; Umur Singh, the second son, succeeded his father at Hulwud, and is represented by the present chief of Dhrângudrâ ; the third son, Ubherâjjee, founded the house of Lugtur. The family of Syelâ is a branch from that of Umur Singh, of Hulwud ; and that of Choorâ descends from a cadet of Wudwân. The Muhârânâ Chundrasunghjee, here alluded to, is mentioned, by name, in the Meerât Ahmudee, as having, in the year A.D. 1590, had a meeting, at Veerumgâm, with Khân Uzeez Kokâ, the imperial viceroy in Goozerat. Shekhurojee, the second son of Hurpâl, established himself at Shunchânâ (or Susânâ), in the Veerumgâm district, and held an estate composed of eighty-four villages, which were, subsequently, re-annexed to the crown lands, but in which his descendants still hold 'wântâs.' Mângojee, the youngest son of Hurpâl, founded the family of Limree, which was seated first at Sheeânee,[1] and next at Jâmboo.

The following is the story of Prutheerâj, the son of Chundrasunghjee, as given by the bards :—

Râj Shree Chundrasunghjee, who reigned at Hulwud, had three sons, of whom Prutheerâj was the eldest. Udâjee, the Rajpoot of Sheeânee, having quarrelled with the Governor of Ahmedabad, determined to quit his territories, and, in that view, removed towards Hulwud. Prutheerâj had been out riding, and happened to bring his horse to the tank to drink water at the same time that Udâjee came thither for a similar purpose. Some persons, who were at the tank, cautioned Udâjee not to approach Prutheerâj, because he was in the habit of striking horses with his whip if they came near him. Udâjee went, notwithstanding, close to the Koonwur, and,

[1] [Śiāni is a town and subdivision of Limdi.]

when the latter raised the whip to strike his horse, Udâjee brought his spear to the rest, and said, that if Prutheerâj struck the horse, he would spear him. Prutheerâj was unarmed, and so he went back to the town, and there began to prepare a party to plunder Udâjee's camp. Chundrasunghjee hearing of this, sent immediately to the Koonwur, to forbid his plundering people who had taken refuge in the territory of Hulwud. Prutheerâj, however, paid no attention to these remonstrances, but, when he had completed his preparations, set forth to attack the camp. Chundrasunghjee, upon this, mounted his horse, and, riding to the camp of Udâjee, dismounted there. On being informed of the step taken by his father, the Koonwur forbore from his intended attack, and angrily went away to Wudwân, from which place he plundered the surrounding country. After a time, he had collected about two thousand followers, and, having been informed that camels, laden with treasure, were on their way from Joonagurh to Ahmedabad, he prepared an ambuscade, and carried off the treasure. The persons in charge having made a complaint, the Mohummedan government set a reward upon Prutheerâj's head, and sent after him a Jemâdâr with two thousand horse. This officer, when he found what the strength of Prutheerâj's force was, determined to employ stratagem against him. He sent a man to Wudwân to say that he had been detached for the purpose of levying tribute, and requested Prutheerâj to accompany him. The Jemâdâr took an oath upon the Koran that he would commit no act of treachery unless Prutheerâj should first deceive him; and Prutheerâj, upon this, joining him, they planned an attack upon Sheeânee, which they successfully carried out, slaying Udâjee. Then 'sut' came upon the wife of Udâjee, and she despatched her servants to Prutheerâj to beg for the head of her husband. The Koonwur, however, had cut off Udâjee's head, and caused it be hung from a tree, and he sent word to the lady, in reply, that he would not give it to her unless she came herself and took it down. The wife of Udâjee came, and, girding up her clothes, climbed the tree, Prutheerâj, meanwhile, abusing Udâjee, and saying, 'Son! you raised your spear against me, 'true; but see now, how nimble I've caused your wife to be at

'climbing trees.' The sutee, when she heard these words, cursed Prutheerâj in her fury, and said, 'Yes! I have been 'compelled by you to mount a tree, but no wife of yours shall 'ever wash her body in mourning for you.'[1] Other people, as well as the sutee, blamed Prutheerâj for what he had done, and it was not long before he was himself repentant. However, he went on with the Jemâdâr, collecting tribute. On one occasion, some of his people, being in the van, arrived first at a halting ground, and, as water was scarce, they pitched a tent over the well, and declared there was none in the place, so that though they got water from the well, the Jemâdâr's men had to travel six miles to get any. The Jemâdâr was informed of this; he said, 'Prutheerâj has been deceitful first, now I am 'absolved of my oath.' He seized Prutheerâj treacherously and carried him off, and no one, in this country, knows what became of him.

Prutheerâj being thus absent at the time of his father's death, his younger brother, Umur Singh, seized upon Hulwud. Prutheerâj, however, left two sons, Sultânjee, from whom descends Wukhutsunghjee, the present Râj of Wânkâner, and Râjâjee, who was the first of the house of Wudwân. Râjâjee married Som Koonwur Bâee, daughter of Rathor Shree Eesubdâsjee, the son of Row Nârondâs, and brother of Veerum Dev—the same lady, probably, who is alluded to in the Churittra of the prince of Eedur. The Râthorânee departed with her beloved through the flames of the pyre in A. D. 1643, as we are informed by the inscription on her funeral monument, and her image, under the respectful title of 'the Sutee 'Râthor Mother's,' is placed in a shrine at no great distance from that of the unhappy Rânik Devee, and on days of holiday, dressed in queenly marriage attire and jewels, receives the salutation of her descendants.

[1] She meant that his wife should never receive information as to when or where he died, so as to mourn for him. [As a matter of fact, Prithirāj was arrested, at the instigation of his brothers, by the Sūbadār of Ahmadābād, and carried to that town, where he died in captivity. A fuller account of the House of Dhrāngadra will be found in the *Kāthiāwār Gazetteer*, *s.v.* Dhrāngadra, *q.v.* A genealogical tree will be found at the end of this chapter.]

Among the Sutees' temples at Wudwân is one called 'the 'Hâree Mother's.' This lady, whose name was Bâee Shree Dev Koonwur, was the daughter of a Hârâ chief, named Umur Singh, and the wife of Muhârânâ Shree Urjoon Singh whom she followed through the flames in A. D. 1741. The temple was erected by Urjoon Singh's son and successor, Muhârânâ Shree Subul Singh, who was not, however, descended of the Hâree Rânee, his mother being a lady of the Purmâr clan, by name, Shree Uchoobâ. In a line with the Hâree Mother's shrine is the funeral temple of Muhârânâ Shree Chundra Singh, erected in A. D. 1779, by his son and successor, the Muhârânâ Shree Prutheerâj, whose mother was Bâee Shree Kooshul Koonwur, the daughter of Shree Jorâjee, a Wâghela chief of Pethâpoor. These scanty memorials supply the only information which we possess of the fortunes of the Jhâlâ house for many years.

Regarding the last mentioned prince, Muhârânâ Chundra Singh, of Wudwân, the bardic chroniclers, however, furnish us with the following narrative :—

A Lohânâ of the village of Memkâ, near Wudwân, took a bullock load of pulse, which in Kâteewâr they call 'Jhâlur,' to Rozkoo, in the Bhâl country, near Dhundhooka, to sell it. The Choorâsumâ grassia of Rozkoo, whose name was Mepjee, had married one of his daughters to a Jhâlâ bridegroom, but was nevertheless at feud with that house. He said jeeringly to the Lohânâ, 'What's the worth of that Jhâlâ of yours ?' The Lohânâ answered, 'A hundred Bhâleeâs[1] go to one 'Jhâlâ.' When the Choorâsumâ heard that, he was very angry ; he beat the Lohânâ, took his bullock from him, and turned him out of the village. The Lohânâ went to complain to his prince, Chundrasunghjee Raja, of Wudwân. The raja enquired what the value of the bullock and its load was, and paid the Lohânâ the sum he named, but determined in his own mind that he would some day or other be quits with the chief of Rozkoo.

Now the Choorâsuma had a village called Morseeoo. Thither went Chundrasunghjee soon after with two thousand horsemen.

[1] Bhâleeâs are large earthen jars, or inhabitants of the Bhâl.

He plundered the village, piled the wood of the houses upon carts, and set off homewards. Mepjee's sons, Lâkhâbhâee and Râmâbhâee, went to their brother-in-law, Hurbhumjee[1] Raja, of Limree, and told him of their feud with Wudwân, and of what they had suffered on account of it. Hurbhumjee set out to their aid with seven hundred horse and eight hundred foot, and took with him Bhugwânbhâee, the Guikowâr's lieutenant, who was at Limree at the time, at the head of a body of twelve thousand horse, which he had brought into the province. The allies halted for the evening on the banks of the river Bhâdur, and as they had a number of guns with them they determined to defend the passage against Chundrasunghjee. The raja of Wudwân meanwhile came up, and pitched his camp near them. He thought that it would now be impossible for him to carry off his booty, and that his honor would be lost if even a single cart were left behind; so he set the whole on fire. At three o'clock in the morning, Chundrasunghjee rose and took 'the 'red cup.'[2] He felt sure that he should be slain in the fight that was about to ensue, so he drank Ganges water, put a leaf of the sacred basil tree in his mouth, and assumed some coral ornaments.[3] When he was ready, an Arab Jemâdâr in his service, whose name was Gorimbho, came to him, and said, 'Thâkor! if it seem good to you, I will attack their guns with 'my five hundred Mukrânees, while you charge the main 'body. Or, if you please, I will charge them in the centre 'while you take their guns.' Chundrasunghjee thought the first plan the best. He dismounted from his horse and took a sword and shield. One of his chiefs came to him and dissuaded him from fighting on foot, but the Durbâr replied, 'Is there 'any hope of surviving now?' The chief answered, 'Sire! 'that is in the hands of the Supreme Being. May Bâburo 'Kool Dev and Shuktee Devee protect you! But while you

[1] [For an account of Harbhamji of Limḍi (*d.* 1786) see *Kāth. Gaz.* *s.v.* Limbdi, p. 534.]

[2] [*Kusumbha*, or infusion of opium, which every Rājput drinks ceremonially; the subordinates taking it from the hands of their overlord. See vol. i, p. 309, l. 21. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i. 341. 'Red' = auspicious, sacred.]

[3] These are ceremonies of interment.—See account of funerals in the Conclusion.

'have yet a horse, what need is there for your fighting on 'foot?' In this way he persuaded him to remount, and the rest of the horsemen having also mounted they moved off to attack the enemy. Meanwhile Gorimbho Jemâdâr was advancing against the guns with his five hundred infantry. The guns were charged with round shot and placed at the edge of the opposite bank over the river. The artillery men fired as quick as they could, but the Jemâdâr's men had already got down the bank into the bed of the river, and the balls went over their heads. The Jemâdâr immediately attacked the gunners, who fled, leaving their pieces in his possession. Meanwhile Chundrasunghjee charged the main body of Hurbhumjee's troops, and they, discouraged by the flight of the gunners, turned and fled also. Hurbhumjee escaped to Limree, pursued all the way by Chundrasunghjee, who killed about fifty of his horsemen.[1]

When the battle was over, the Guikowâr's lieutenant, Bhugwânbhâee, sent an officer with a silver rod, to claim the guns as his master's property. Chundrasunghjee said that he had not been aware that that was the case, and that the lieutenant might come for the guns, or that he would himself send them. The Mahratta horsemen came for the guns and took them away, and Bhugwânbhâee went back to Baroda, while Chundrasunghjee returned home to Wudwân.

After the deaths of Chundrasunghjee and Hurbhumjee, the Limree Râjâ Hureesunghjee, the son of Hurbhumjee, attacked Pâthâbhâee (Prutherâj), son of Chundrasunghjee, in revenge. He came against Wudwân, with five hundred horse and two hundred foot. The horse were divided into three bodies, one of which encamped on the banks of the Kâree river, six miles from Wudwân, and the other two beside reservoirs at Kherâloo and Pâleeâwullee. It happened that five and twenty of the Limree horsemen had skirmished up to the gate of Wudwân, and had killed a cultivator, and done some further mischief, when they were suddenly attacked by fifteen of Pâthâbhâee's horse, who were going their rounds. The Limree men took to flight, and the others pursued them to the

[1] [On the other hand, the bards record a story of the defeat of Chandrasinghjī by Harbhamjī's father Aderājī. *Kāth. Gaz.*, pp. 553–4.]

place on the banks of the river where the foremost division was. The Wudwân horse fired into the encampment, and killed five men, and the rest taking to flight they pursued them as far as Kherâloo. Raja Pâthâbhâee, receiving information of what had happened, set out immediately with two hundred foot and three hundred horse, and attacked the enemy posted at Kherâloo, whom he defeated, and put to flight. In this action, Râmâbhâee, of Parburee, and Lâkhâbbâee, Hureesunghjee's mother's brothers, were killed. Their funeral temples may still be seen in that place.

There was another fight, also, at the Kâree river, in which Hureesunghjee was present in person. On this occasion, Pâthâbhâee's mother's brother, Sherbhâee Wâghela, of Pethâpoor, was carried by his horse through the midst of Hureesunghjee's troops. Hureesunghjee pursued him, and slew him. The armies afterwards separated and returned to their homes.[1]

[1] The two following documents will throw light upon the text. The first is 'a Runwutee deed,' or grant, in compensation, to the successor of a murdered person; the second is an engagement entered into by outlaws, on obtaining permission to return to their homes.

I

To Muhârânâ Shree Hurbhumjee, salutation from Jhâlâ Gopâljee, and Jhâlâ Veesojee, and Jhâlâ Bhâwajee, and Jhâlâ Bhâeejee, and Jhâlâ Ujâbhâee, and Jhâlâ Moolojee, and Jhâlâ Râmsunghjee, and Jhâlâ Rutunjee, and Jhâlâ Sungrâmjee, and Jhâlâ Rutunjee Lâkhâjee, and all the brothers.

A quarrel occurred among the brothers at the village of Bârejurâ, and Jhâlâ Mâljee and Jhâlâ Humeerjee cut off Jhâlâ Râmsunghjee's head. Therefore, Jhâlâ Mâljee and Jhâlâ Humeerjee are expelled from the eighty-four townships (of Limree), and Jhâlâ Mâljee's and Jhâlâ Humeerjee's grâs (hereditary lands), consisting of a share in the villages of Bârejurâ and Jhâleeâ, are given ughât (without opportunity of revocation) to Jhâlâ Kusheeâjee, as the price of Jhâlâ Râmsunghjee's head, the grant to last as long as the sun and the moon last. Jhâlâ Kusheeâjee is to receive the revenues of these two villages, and enjoy the 'grâs.' Further, no descendant of Jhâlâ Mâljee or Jhâlâ Humeerjee is to be permitted to reside in the eighty-four villages. Whoever entertains such a person is an offender against the Durbâr (the court, literally, meaning the chief, the Muhârânâ, of Limree), and if the Durbâr punish him no one shall complain. We will, all of us, act up to this agreement,

A few years afterwards, in Sumwut, 1863 (A. D. 1807), the Jhâlâs were again at war among themselves. On the borders of the Wudwân territory there is a village named Khorâ, containing a very old castle, the erection of which is attributed to Sidh Râj. Six miles from thence is Goojurvedee, a village belonging to the Raja of Dhrângudrâ. At these two frontier points the chiefs of Wudwân and Hulwud had their out-posts.

and for our so doing the undersigned are security; Râbâ Wâsung, of Bodânâ, and Râbâ Bhugâ, and Râbâ Nâron, and Râbâ Dhunnâ, and Guduwee Undâ. We will act according to what has been here written. Sumwut, 1833 (A. D. 1777), Mâgsheer shood 6, Monday.

Signatures.	*Witnesses.*
Gopâljee, &c.	Shree Jugdeesh, (*i. e.* the sun).
Written by Jhâlâ Sungrâmjee.	Jhâlâ Mâljee.
	Jhâlâ Meghâbhâee.
	Jhâlâ Chândâbhâee.
	Râthor Kândâ.
	Goletur Râjâjee.
	Desâee Luloobhâee.

Written by Bhowâneedâs, in the presence of the parties.

II

Shree Bheemnâthjee is security for the performance of the underwritten agreement. We will perform it.

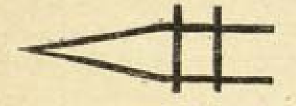
To Muhârânâ Shree Hureesunghjee, salutation from Jhâlâ Kusheeâjee Râmsingh, and Keshâbhâee, of the village of Bârejurâ. In payment of debts due by us we mortgaged the village of Bârejurâ, to Shâ Nânjee Doongurshee. Afterwards, we had a quarrel with Shâ Nânjee, and, leaving the village, went to Ookhrâlâ, from whence we annoyed the Durbâr. In atonement for these acts we hereby pass the village of Bârejurâ to the Durbâr, for seventy years, up to the end of which time the Durbâr is to enjoy it; and after that, we will arrange in regard to the debt due to Shâ Nânjee, as any two men may decide. On the above terms, the Durbâr has called us in and given us jeewâee lands in the village (lands for their subsistence), which we will enjoy and create no disturbance for the future. For our keeping the above agreement, we give the following as security:—The Chundhooka Kusbâtees, Syud Boolâkee Azumbhâee, and Shekh Sâhib, and the Choorâsumâ of Parburee Râmsunghjee; they are to be responsible in their property. Sumwut, 1853 (A. D. 1797). Bhâdrapud shood 2, Saturday.

Further, Mehta Bhugwândâs is security, the above-mentioned securities having declined; also, Guduwee Dulâ Jeewun, of the Tâpureeâ branch, and Guduwee Jeewun Sâhoo, of Khumbhulâv, and Guduwee Ujâ Udâ, of the Dethâ branch, of the village of Puchum, and Râwul

On the day of the festival of the goat,[1] the Mohummedan soldiers belonging to the post at Goojurvedee went round their own village to procure a goat, and being unsuccessful then repaired to Khorâ. At this latter place they agreed with a shepherd to purchase a goat from him for three shillings, but having got possession of the animal they carried it off without paying the price. The shepherd went immediately to the Limree post in the village and complained of what had happened, and the Limree men turned out and went to Goojurvedee to demand the goat. The Dhrângudrâ soldiers now agreed to pay for the animal, but the others refused the money, and taking away the goat returned with it home. When the Dhrângudrâ men went to their master, the Râj, at Hulwud, and informed him of what had happened he was angry, and said, 'Why did you allow them to take away 'what you had purchased on your holiday?' He determined

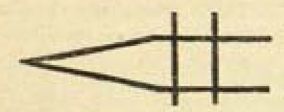
Devkurshun Wâlâ, of the village of Pansheenâ. They are to be responsible in their property.

Guduwee Dulâ,
agrees to the above.



Guduwee Ujâ Dethâ,
agrees to the above.

Guduwee Jeewun Sâhoo,
agrees to the above.



Râwul Devkurun Velâ,
agrees to the above.

Witnesses.

Shree Jugdeesh (the sun).
Râthor Kândâ.
Jhâlâ Bâjeebhâee, of the village of Gedee.
Wâghela Hutheebhâee Bhowânjee, of the village of Loleeyânah.
Shâ Peetâmbur Bhowânee.
Sholunkee Kâkâ Jetarah.
Putel Mooloo Âshâ.
Gohil Hujoojee Jethâjee, of Dokurlâ.

Written by Myârâm, in the presence of the parties.
[See Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i. 235, 324.]

[1] [Animals are sacrificed by Musalmâns at the festival known as 'Îdu-l-azhâ, 'Îdu-l-zuhâ, or Qurbân 'Îd (Hughes, *Dict. Islâm*, 192 ff).]

to attack Wudwân, and sent for assistance to the Râj of Wânkâner, the chiefs of Syelâ and Choorâ, and to Huree Singh of Limree. The former declined joining him, but the latter assembled their forces and attended him. Huree Singh is said to have endeavoured to induce the chief of Wudwân to make submission,—'Do you suppose,' was the message, 'that 'there is any difference between Hulwud and Limree? If you 'fight with Hunoomân you will certainly be defeated. Does 'a wise man invite Yuma to his gate? What has happened has 'happened, but, if you now persist, your fort will be destroyed, 'and the army of the Feringees will be spread over the country. Prutheerâj of Wudwân, however, determined to resist, and he collected a force which he maintained by plundering alternately the villages of Dhrângudrâ and Limree. When the allies were assembled, the Râj of Dhrângudrâ at first paid the expenses of the whole, but this was subsequently discontinued, and each chief supported his own troops. After some engagements in the field Prutheerâj was compelled to retire within the walls of Wudwân, and the allies then besieged him and affected a breach with their artillery. At this period, however, the Bhâts and Châruns came between the combatants, and an arrangement of the dispute was by their means effected.

Thus far on bardic authority. Colonel Walker, who was in Jhâlâwâr shortly after these occurrences, gives the following account of them:—

'Another cause' (of the wretched state of the country) 'is 'the war which lately existed between the Rajas of Limree, 'Wudwân, and Dhrângudrâ. This war arose from the ridi-'culous circumstance of a party of Dhrângudrâ horse having 'taken a goat from a shepherd, for which they offered to pay, 'but the shepherd went and complained, and a party of Wud-'wân people took the flesh of the goat from the horsemen while 'they were preparing to cook it. This produced retaliation 'from Dhrângudrâ; one outrage provoked another; the 'Limree Rajâ was implicated in the quarrel; nor was it 'settled until every village of the Wudwân Tâlook, consisting 'of upwards of sixty, was laid waste save four, and the walls 'of Wudwân itself breached. The other Tâlooks suffered in 'proportion.'

According to the bards the feud cost the Râj of Hulwud a lakh of rupees, or ten thousand pounds, the chief of Limree two thousand five hundred pounds, and the chiefs of Choorâ and Syelâ one thousand each.

The country of the Jhâlâs was at the time of Colonel Walker's settlement of the Mahratta Moolukgeeree district of Kâteewâr, in which it was included, involved in a state of great depression produced by several causes. A fruitful source of dissension, not, however, confined to this part of Goozerat, was the system under which the property of a chieftain was divided and subdivided among his descendants. A constant state of enmity among the Rajpoot families themselves had resulted from the endeavours of the superior chieftains to preserve their territories from dismemberment, by force or fraud employed against the junior branches of their families. Nor were the external difficulties of the country less serious. Kâtees, Jutts, Meeyânâs,[1] and other predatory tribes kept the inhabitants of its few and miserable villages in continual alarm. The deficiency of cultivation was rendered still more strikingly visible by the nearly total absence of wood or even of foliage. In most parts of Jhâlâwâr the cultivator went armed to the scene of his labours, and in every village a tall tree, or other elevated station, was employed as a watch tower, from which a sentinel gave instant notice of the approach of the much dreaded predatory horse. The cattle, which with their domestic utensils and ploughs constituted the sole property of the villagers, were now hastily driven off from the fields to such shelter as could be afforded by the scanty defences of the village, or if overtaken by the freebooters in the open country were soon wending their way across the Runn to a ready market in Kutch or Chor Wâgur. The annual Mooluk-

[1] The Meeyânâs, who were men of Sindhi extraction and much renowned as warriors, were numerous at Mâleeâ. Their character, as popularly estimated, may be gathered from the following story:—

One day, while an Arab soldier of the Guikowâr's was at his prayers, a Meeyânâ passed by, and enquired of him who he was afraid of that he bent his head that way. The Arab replied, with some indignation, that he feared no one but Ullah (God). 'O! then,' said the Meeyânâ, 'come along with me to Mâleeâ; we don't fear even Ullah there.'

[For the Miāna tribe see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ix, part i, 519 ff.]

geeree expeditions of the Peshwâh, the Guikowâr, and the Nowaub of Joonagurh had further contributed to render waste and depopulate a country which had received from nature almost every requisite of fertility. Its state of desolation may be vividly perceived in the fact that when the Mahratta Soubahdârs were passing through it the want of firewood was sometimes so great as to render it necessary for the Bhoomeeâ chieftain of a place to cause one of his own villages to be deserted in order that its materials might supply the invading army with fuel. More special causes of suffering were found at this particular period in the late exaction of arrears by Bâbâjee, in the state of war which had been produced by Mulhâr Row's presence in the country after his escape from Nerriâd, and in the exhausting feud among the Jhâlâ chieftains themselves, which we have just described.

Jhâlâwar was divided into a number of independent chieftainships, the principal of which were those of Hulwud or Dhrângudrâ, Limree, Wudwân, Wânkâner, Choorâ, Lugtur, and Syelâ, whose formation we have already noticed. A family respect was still paid to the Râj of Dhrângudrâ, who on state occasions received the first act of civility, and was seated on an elevated cushion above the other chieftains of the race of Hurpâl. The affairs of this chieftain had been very ill managed, and his district plundered by an unworthy minister, who had lately absconded. Nor had the other estates of the Jhâlâs experienced a happier fate, and those of Choorâ and Lugtur in particular had temporarily fallen under the direct control of the Mahrattas. Heerjee Khuwâs, the minister of the chief of Lugtur, had advanced money to his master, and having obtained the entire control of the estate proceeded to erect fortifications, and showed a disposition to establish his own authority. The Jhâlâ chief, in alarm, sought the aid of his daughter Ghenâ Bâee, the widow of the Muhârâjâ Gowind Row Guikowâr. The Baroda state was induced to interfere, and discharge the demands of Heerjee Khuwâs, but it became necessary for the Guikowâr officers to assume the management of the Lugtur estate, in order to defray the debt thus incurred, which step they had accordingly taken, reserving a portion of the produce for the subsistence of the chieftain.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

[GENEALOGY OF THE CHIEFS OF DHRĀNGADRA

Chandrasinghjī, chief of Halvad 1584–1628

- Prithirāj
  - Sultānjī, chief of Vānkāner
  - Rājojī, chief of Wadhwān
- Askaranjī
- Amarsinghjī, chief of Halvad 1634–45
  - Megrājī, 1645–61
    - Gajsinghjī, 1661–73
      - Jaśvantsinghjī, 1673–1718
        - Pratāpsinghjī, 1718–30
          - Raisinghjī, 1730– ? Built Dhrāngadra
            - Gajsinghjī, ?–1782
              - Jaśvantsinghjī II, 1782–1801
                - Amarsinghjī, 1801–34]

CHAPTER VII

THE CHOORÂSUMÂS OF DHOLLERA—THE GOHILS

THE first settlement of the British in the peninsula of Soreth was made, as we have already hinted, under the auspices of presumed descendants of the ancient and princely line of Girnâr. A younger son of one of the Râs of Soreth, named Bânjee, is said to have received, as his patrimony, four 'chorâshees,' or districts, each containing eighty-four villages; one of which, the district of Dhundhooka, was inherited by his son, Râeesuljee. From Merjee, the fourth son of Râeesuljee, descended the Choorâsumâ grassia Syesuljee, who, at the time of Ânund Row Guikowâr, possessed, or laid claim to, the villages of Dhollera, Râh Tulow Bunder, Bhângur, Bheem Tulow, Goomah, and Saibellow, comprising, in all, an area of about a hundred thousand beeghas. Three of these villages were, however, uninhabited.

The district of Dhundhooka had fallen, after the division of the country between the Viceroy of Ahmedabad and the Mahrattas, to Kuntâjee Bhanday, who held it as a separate estate. It was taken from Kuntâjee by Dâmâjee Guikowâr, and, on that chief's compelled submission to the Peshwah, passed into the hands of the court of Poonah. Under the Mahratta government the unsettled state of the country, and the continually recurring pecuniary embarrassments of its rulers, compelled the komâvishdars, or farmers of districts, to contract upon terms which could be fulfilled only by the most oppressive exactions. The territory entrusted to them was also exposed to the depredations, not only of the surrounding states, but of every predatory leader who could attract to his standard fifty or a hundred men. The villages, therefore, fell to ruin, and a large part of them became wholly deserted. Many of the smaller landholders had, at this time, become anxious to place themselves and their possessions under the protection of any government sufficiently powerful to prevent the neighbouring chiefs from encroaching on their estates,

and the powers to which they were tributary, from exacting a larger revenue than that which had been stipulated for by the Mogul rulers, at a time when the country was in a far more flourishing condition. The British government, which now appeared upon the stage, presented to the view of the grassias a power such as they desired, and to it, therefore, were addressed their applications for aid.

'In the view of improving our commercial, and, eventually, 'our political, intercourse with the peninsula of Goozerat,' says Mr. Duncan, in a letter addressed to the Governor-General, from Cambay, on the 11th June, 1802, 'I have accepted the 'offer of the port of Râh Tulow, or Dhollera, situated about 'twenty miles to the south of this place, the grassia proprietors 'of which, viz., Mânâbhâee Gorbhaee and Syesuljee Suttâjee, 'and their brethren, have been pressing me for the last four 'years to accept of this spot, on condition of their continuing 'to receive one-half of the net future income; their object in 'which has been the procuring protection for themselves 'against the depredations of their neighbours, and particularly 'from the encroachments of the Raja of Bhownugger, who 'wishes to possess himself of this excellent sea-port to prevent 'its becoming a rival to his own less convenient one of Bhow-'nugger, and he has, for that purpose, been tampering with 'some of the brethren of these grassias, to make over their 'shares to him, which he has accordingly obtained from one of 'the inferior among the brethren, named Hâllojee, in a pro-'portion too insignificant (not exceeding eleven parts in a hun-'dred in the village of Dhollera), to affect their general engage-'ments with us for their whole interest, besides that one 'brother cannot make a valid grant of the joint property, and 'that even this trifling attempt to supersede our claims 'is of a date posterior to, and may, no doubt, be justly con-'sidered as the immediate consequence of the previous tender 'made to us by the united body of the grassias in question, 'whose territory, situated under the pergunnah of Dhun-'dhooka, is subject to a fixed khundunee (tribute) to the 'Peshwah, who does not, however, appear to exert any inter-'ference in the internal management, as seems, indeed, suffi-'ciently implied in the recent attempts of the Bhownugger

'chieftain to acquire this possession, and the terms on which 'a small proportion thereof had been actually made over to 'him.'

The example set by Syesuljee and Mânâbhâee was, not long after, followed by numerous other holders, or claimants, of villages in the Dholka and Dhundhooka Pergunnahs, whose applications were strenuously supported by Sir Miguel de Souza, through whom they were made. As, however, most of the villages, which were thus proposed to be ceded to the British government, had been held for periods of twenty years or more by the Râwul of Bhownugger, the Thâkor of Limree, or some other chieftain, and as the claims thus revived were, in his opinion, far better consigned to oblivion, the Resident opposed, with success, the acceptance of the proffered cessions. 'Vague, uncertain, and disputed claims,' said Colonel Walker, 'to the sites of villages, of which the recollection scarcely exists, 'are generously ceded to the Honorable Company, upon con-'dition of displacing the immediate possessors from the waste 'lands they have brought into cultivation, and relinquishing 'one-half of the advantages to be gained solely by the Com-'pany's means to the grassia claimant, and undertaking to 'rebuild and repeople villages for their benefit. * * * * 'In the prosecution of our views in Kâteewâr, humanity is a 'principal consideration, and the Honorable Company's advan-'tage, honor, and reputation will consist in reconciling the 'animosities of the rival chieftains, instead of availing our-'selves of the precarious benefits to be derived from their 'dissensions.'

We return now to the affairs of the Gohil clan, who were the nearest neighbours to the newly-acquired British possessions on the coast of the peninsula of Soorâshtrâ.

When the seal of the padishah, says the bard of the Gohils, was exchanged for that of the Sâhoo Raja, bands of Arabs consorted with that king; his rule extended as far as Mecca, and, on the east, to Bhudreekâ; his soubahdârs were so powerful that they exacted double rates of tribute. They returned to his presence from subduing the country. When the roll was called and the royal assembly held, the Gundhurvs sang songs and related tales; dances were exhibited; the king sat on his

throne. Said the Sâhoo to Seevâjee, 'We have broken 'Delhi, and taken possession of much territory. What 'countries have been conquered by us, and what remain ?' Seevâjee said, 'Eating your salt, I have taken several countries, 'and have subdued the Bhâtee Raja, but Sorethland is a 'country where there are many men and many forts armed 'with guns. This country has not been subdued.' The Sâhoo beheld there, like peers, two soubahdârs seated, Kuntâjee and Peelâjee ; he granted them a puttâ for a lakh of years. 'If you 'can conquer Soreth I give it to you—wherever there are cities 'I will assign you jâgheers.' He gave them crowns and dresses of honor ; the army set off immediately ; it went onwards, laying waste the habitable places ; it came to Goozerat, and took possession. The officers of Delhi, taking with them a park of artillery, advanced ; they drew the Mogulâee sword. In that battle Roostum Ulee [1] was slain, he who was the leader of eighty thousand men. Then the zumeendârs, bending the head, began to say, 'You are our lords, to you every village 'will pay "sulâmee" ; we are humble, who will contest with 'you ? But, if you subdue Bhâwo, you will obtain a reward 'at Sattara. Bhâwo caused us much annoyance, then we 'bowed the head to him, and said, "You are our lord." In 'many places he has seized forts.' When Kuntâjee heard these words he was distressed ; he came and pitched his tents within two kos of Seehore. Calling for a Brahmin, he sent him with a letter to Bhâwo, 'Give up the fort of Seehore, or Shumbhoo's [2] 'oath to you. In the morning coming I will plant my flags on 'all sides of your city. I will give you four watches of the 'night.' Bhow Singh beheld the note he had written. He was angry ; he said to the Brahmin, 'Show me your back, that 'I may not incur the sin of slaying you.' The Brahmin went away, and said to Kuntâjee, 'Go forth in the morning, and 'fight with him.'

The great drums sounded, the army set forth, Kuntâjee approached to where that Indra among men was seated in Seehore. The fire-arrows [3] began to fly, the balls of the swivels to travel, the hills began to re-echo. The balls flew on

[1] [The defeat of Rustam Ali has been described on pp. 5–6, *supra*.]

[2] A name of Shiva.

[3] *Kokbân*, rockets.

both sides. They did not injure those who dwelt in the fort, though they scattered its assailants like pigeons. Many of those who were outside fell, and eat the dust. The dwellers in the fort remained immoveable. Rutun Singh's son, Bhow Singh, did not fear a whit; the Mahrattas were tired. The Deewân said, 'Why are you vexing yourselves,—little is left 'of our ammunition or of our army? Listen to my advice. 'Muroo, who is as lofty as the sky, has not come into our 'hands.' Thus speaking, they struck their tents and retreated. Kuntâjee did not return home. On the journey he died. He did not go to his raja. He went to the house of Yuma.

Another year came round. The Sâhoo again summoned his Râwuts. 'Have all come home subduing territory? Have 'Peelâjee and Kuntâjee been defeated anywhere, that they have 'not returned? What has become of them?' The Râwuts answered, 'He who goes to Java perhaps may return, and 'bring back as much wealth as may support his children's 'children: but he who goes to fight with Bhâwo never 'returns.'[1]

[1] It is a saying in Goozerat,—

'Who goes to Java
'Never returns.
'If, by chance, he return,
'Then, for two generations to live upon,
'Money enough, he brings back.'

[The Gujarâti version is

Te jae Jāve, te kadi nahi āve,
Āve to, sāth pidhi baitke khāve.

Another version is

Te jae Jāve, te phari ne āve,
Jo phari āve, to parya parya khāve
Etalu dhan lāve.

Who go to Java, stay for aye,
If they return, they feast and play,
Such stores of wealth their risks repay.

These verses are interesting as they refer to the colonization of Java about 600 A. C. by Kasamachitra, King of Gujarāt, which is mentioned in the Javanese chronicles, but in Gujarāt is recorded only in proverbs such as those quoted above. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. i, part i, Appendix IV, p. 489. V. A. Smith, *Hist. Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 259 ff.]

Bhow Singh Gohil, as we have seen, founded the new capital of Bhownugger, in A. D. 1723.[1] He was a chief of enterprise and sagacity, and before his death had the satisfaction of seeing his city established as a commercial emporium. At that period the disturbances consequent on the decline of the Mogul empire had rendered navigation dangerous, and subjected commerce to oppressive exactions. The trade of Gogo and Cambay had proportionably decayed as those ports were deprived of protection and unsupported any longer by the lucrative communication with Ahmedabad. A number of small communities had been established; the coast from the mouth of the Myhee to the Indus had fallen into the possession of robbers, who subjected the property of the merchant to their lawless rapine; and the sea had become infested by pirates. There were, therefore, great advantages to be derived from the establishment of a comparatively powerful ruler at Bhownugger, who was both able and desirous to extend protection to commerce. From this period we are to date the intercourse of the Gohil Râwuls with the government of Bombay, 'and at a time,' says Colonel Walker, 'when the resources and commerce of the 'presidency were more limited than at present (A. D. 1807) the 'friendship of the chieftain of Bhownugger seems to have been 'cultivated with assiduity and attention.'

Bhow Singh was succeeded, in A. D. 1764–5, by his son Râwul Ukherâjjee, commonly styled Bhâwâjee, who was of an unambitious temper and averse to war. From the necessity of affording the trade of his port encouragement and protection, the Râwul, however, joined with a body of his troops an armament from Bombay, and assisted in the reduction of Tulâjâ and Mhowâ, then possessed by Koolees, who supported themselves by piratical attacks upon the merchants and vessels of every nation. The moderate policy of Râwul Ukherâjjee made him reject the possession of Tulâjâ, which, after its conquest, the British would have conferred upon him. In consequence of his refusal, Tulâjâ was delivered to the Nowaub of Cambay, A. D. 1771 or 1772; and, about a year after this event, Râwul

[1] This is the statement of the accredited bards of the Gohil clan. Colonel Walker says the town was founded in A. D. 1742–3. [So the *Kāthiāwār Gazetteer*. See the article on Bhāvnagar, pp. 385–97.]

Ukherâjjee died, and was succeeded by his son, Wukhut Singh.

Râwul Wukhut Singh, better known by the familiar title of Âtâbhâee, was far more ambitious and enterprising than his father. He increased his territories by various acquisitions, while at the same time he encouraged and protected commerce. 'In Sumwut, 1836' (A. D. 1780), say the bards, 'Shree Wukhut 'Singh drove Noor Mohummed out of Tulâjâ, and took posses-'sion of it; he also seized Jânjmer. In the same year he drove 'Jusso Khusheeo Koolee out of the port of Shree Mhowa, and 'took possession.' Colonel Walker mentions that both force and artifice were employed by Wukhut Singh in dispossessing the Nowaub of Cambay of Tulâjâ; he states also that the Râwul soon afterwards established his authority over the district of Wâlâk (so called from its having been of old the property of the Wâlâ Rajpoots), with the exception of a few villages, the property of the Survaiya clan, and re-settled and fortified Mhowa, which had been destroyed by the expedition in which the British troops were engaged, and rendered it a flourishing port. 'It is to be observed,' continues the resident, 'that this acquisition of a valuable country and of an extensive 'coast was made from tribes who exercised piracy, and that 'whatever share of violence and ambition may have been 'united in the measures of the Bhownugger chiefs, their 'ultimate object was the protection of commerce. The good 'effects of this policy were extensively felt, and the coasting 'trade of the Honorable Company's subjects derived every 'advantage from this regular plan for the security of com-'merce. The Râwuls of Bhownugger were the first chiefs who 'had the discernment to discover the advantages of this policy, 'and they have the singular merit of reforming the predatory 'habits of their subjects, of directing their attention to indus-'trious pursuits, and of affording security to the persons and 'property of merchants, which have reclaimed an extensive 'line of coast from the practice of piracy, and been productive 'of many permanent benefits. It must at the same time be 'admitted, that, in other instances, the ambitious policy of 'Wukhut Singh has been but little restrained by any of the 'considerations of honor and justice. His measures have been

'executed with vigour, and generally with judgment; but 'they have been influenced alone by his interest, and pursued 'with perseverance and spirit, employing indifferently force, 'intrigues, and artifice to increase his power and ensure success 'to his schemes.'

Under these auspices Bhownugger became the channel of the import and export trade of Goozerat, Soreth, and Marwar, and the encouragement which merchants received induced many opulent people to settle there, while the neighbouring port of Gogo, with the advantage of a much more convenient harbour, soon fell into decay.[1] As an example of the superior judgment and policy of the Gohil chiefs, Colonel Walker mentions the remarkable fact, that while at the port of Gogo, at that time under the Peshwah's government, shipwrecks and stranded vessels were annually farmed as a source of revenue, everywhere on the coast subject to the Gohils they were protected, and restored to the merchants.

In A. D. 1792, according to the bards, 'Wukhut Singh became at feud with the Kâtees, and led an army to Cheetul, 'from which the Kâtees retreated. He plundered the fort of 'many horses, camels, carts, and other property. He raised 'his standard at Koondulâ. The Kâtees went to Ahmed 'Khân, Nowaub of Joonagurh, and complained that Râwul 'Wukhutsunghjee had seized their grâs. The Nowaub 'advanced, therefore, with an army, but the Râwul met him 'with forty thousand men. Arriving at Pâtunâ he drove away 'the Nowaub with his cannon, and took the village of Râjoola 'from him. The Jetwâ Rajpoot, Jeeâjee, effected a reconciliation between the Nowaub and the Râwul, and they drank the 'red cup together, but the Râwul was at feud with the Kâtees 'for twelve years.'

Joonagurh was at this time, we may mention, in the hands of the family of Kumâl-ood-deen, or Juwân-Murd Khân Bâbee, the latest Mohummedan ruler of the capital of Shah Ahmed.

These events are commemorated also by the following ballad :—'Quickly advanced the Nowaub, bringing with him 'an army of Kâtees; not a man was left in fort, or castle, or

[1] This state of affairs has since been reversed: the trade of Gogo has revived, while that of Bhownugger has fallen away.

'village. As he came on angrily, Wukhutesh, like another 'Indra, mounted to oppose the Yuwun. The kettle-drums 'sounded, and the great drums too, the peaks of the mountains 're-echoed, the earth-supporting snake began to writhe, the 'ocean to dash its spray up to the sky. The spear in his 'hand was glancing like a ray of the sun; against the Nowaub 'none but the son of Ukherâj could go. Countless Rohillas, 'Sindhis, and Puthâns, came on, many Arabs sounding the 'drum. Âtâbhâee, with his brothers, advanced to meet them, '"You have come with a good object, Bâbee! mount and 'come on to the fight." He gave him a sulâmee of cannon; 'erecting batteries, he threw him into sorrow. Hemud con- 'sidered that he should get more blows than money. Without 'sounding the kingly drum, off he fled in the middle of the 'night. The Kâtees too began to fly, hither and thither, like 'crows. The son of Mohobut Khân fled; he heeded not what 'road he took. After the Yuwun went Âto, following him by his 'track. The lord of Seehore cried as he advanced,—"Slay! 'slay! take care of the honor of Sulâbut Khân."[1] Expelling 'friendship from his heart he angrily encamped at Pâtuna, 'within a kos of the enemy's frontier. "Huree! Huree!" 'exclaiming, he pitched his camp.

'As Devs and Dytes prepared for encounter, so stood the 'black elephants and long maned horses. Five kinds of music 'sounded; swords, lightning-like, flashed ready for the fight; 'it seemed as if the last day had arrived; tubes began to be 'discharged; in double lines the Arab beruks advanced shout- 'ing "deen! deen!"[2] the valiant followers of Wukhut Singh 'irregularly were fighting. Within an hour Meeâ cried out for 'quarter; he began to be himself the suitor. "I swear to you 'by the Koran I will not attack you again. I give you Râjoola, 'Koondulâ, and Cheetul; the Almighty has given you all the 'country." He caused a grant to be written, and above it he 'placed his seal. The chief of Porbunder, Jeewojee the Jetwâ, 'tried to give him courage; all that were with him were dis- 'mayed; the Soubahdâr of Soreth was left without honor. 'With him were the Koompâwut of Jetpoor, Wujsoor the

[1] An ancestor of the Nowaub's.

[2] *Deen* means 'religion,' and is a usual Mohummedan party-word.

'Kâtee, of Jusdun, the Dâhâ also; what strength had they to 'contend against the King of Perumbh, over whose palace 'floated the flag of victory. The strength of the Bâbee was 'broken, what of the Kâtees' strength! Bhow Singh's de-'scendant and his Koonwur—performers of deeds of wonder—'re-burnished the water of the sword of Rutunesh, Bhâwo, and 'Ukherâj. Songs were sung throughout the land. The princes 'rained on all around a shower of gold. Wukhutesh, having 'obtained the victory, came joyful home.'

In the early part of the month of October, 1803, Mulhâr Row Guikowâr, then for a second time in insurrection, came into collision at Sâbur Koondlâ, near the frontier of Gohilwâr, with a body of horse belonging to the army of Bâbâjee Âppâjee, who was employed at the time in his Moolukgeeree expedition in Kâteewâr. Mulhâr Row's followers were defeated and his baggage was plundered; he fled himself to Bhownugger, and solicited protection from Wukhut Singh Gohil. The Râwul was by no means disposed to espouse his cause, and contented himself, therefore, with permitting his embarkation on board a boat in which he purposed to make his escape either to Dwârkâ or Bhooj. Two English boats, however, hove in sight before Mulhâr Row had proceeded far on his voyage, and fired two shots at his vessel. Mulhâr Row, therefore, again sought the shore, and re-landed at Bhownugger, but the Râwul continuing to refuse him an asylum, he and his son, apprehensive of the consequences, abandoned their banner and drums, their horses and elephants, and betook themselves to flight, nor halted until they had reached the sacred hill of Shutroonjye or Pâleetânâ. There they remained with a single attendant for several days, and were almost starved, when some of the inhabitants of the adjacent country discovering their retreat, disclosed it to Bâbâjee. The Guikowâr general sent a party of one hundred horsemen, with led chargers, to bring them in. The three fugitives, on the approach of the horsemen, made no resistance, having abandoned all hope, and endured the pains of hunger almost to the death. They were supported to within a short distance of the Guikowâr camp, where they met the litters which had been sent out by Bâbâjee to receive them. Such

were the circumstances which attended the last appearance in Goozerat of the talented, ambitious, headstrong, and unfortunate Jâgheerdâr of Kuree. With his son, Khundee Row, he was transferred, in the month of May following, to the charge of the British government, and by their orders conveyed to the fort of Bombay, where he was detained as a prisoner at large until he ended his days.

Early in A. D. 1804, a British agent was deputed to the Râwul of Bhownugger to induce him to agree to an amicable settlement in regard to his Moolukgeeree tribute to the Court of Baroda,—a measure which the Guikowâr government had adopted at Colonel Walker's recommendation, and to which Wukhut Singh also had for some time listened favorably. Influenced, however, principally by his ministers, the Râwul for some time evaded, and at length wholly rejected, the proposal. This conduct compelled Bâbâjee, who had waited for some time on the frontier in hopes of an accommodation, to enter the Râwul's territories, in the month of August, and hostilities in consequence ensued. The Guikowâr general advanced to Seehore, and his Pindârees harassed the country around, and carried off the cattle of the villagers. As the lands of the Gogo pergunnah were principally divided between the British and the Râwul, and were so intermixed that one share could hardly be injured without the other being affected, Wukhut Singh seemed to Colonel Walker to have formed some expectation from these circumstances that Bâbâjee would not venture to molest him. 'I have found it necessary,' says the resident, 'to undeceive him on that head, and to apprize him 'that he shall be answerable for the damage which may befall 'the Company's division of the pergunnah from his resistance 'to the customary demands of the Guikowâr government. 'I have not received an answer to this communication, and it 'may perhaps produce some good effect, as I understand that 'the raja is displeased with his present advisers, and has 'threatened to dismiss them for the injudicious course they 'have led him to pursue.' It was not, however, until the month of October that the Gohil Râwul, succumbing rather to British threats than to Mahratta valour, intimated his consent to settling with Bâbâjee for three years' tribute at the customary

rate. The successful defence of Seehore against the Guikowâr army is thus celebrated by the bards :—

'The whole earth began to resound, such was the noise of the 'royal drums of the strong and renowned Ânâbâ of Baroda. 'Fighting with his enemies he broke down their boundaries. 'An unshaken pillar was Mulhâr Râee in Kuree. An enmity 'arose between the lords of Kuree and Baroda. Bâbâ's army 'set forth against Kuree with fluttering banners, dust rising in 'clouds into the air. The Bâbâ brought against Kuree an 'English army. An innumerable array of warriors shouted. 'For two or four months they fired at Kuree with their guns, 'at length Mulhâr Row, abandoning Kuree, fled. Bâbâ con-'quered the impregnable Kuree. No one could fight against 'him; all came to make their sulâms, seeing that he had 'quickly captured such a fort as Kuree.

'The army advanced to Pâtree, which was held by Desâees, 'who bowed to none. Fighting they took from them lakhs of 'treasure; things left lying on the road could be lifted by none; 'such was the fear of Bâbâ. As he served Kuree so he served 'Pâtree; he destroyed many forts of the Mewâsees; he laid 'Juttwâr under contribution, also Lutâd. When the Soubah 'arrived at a place, it was as if a gang of plunderers had fallen 'upon it. Preparing his army, he came to Jhâlâwâr to fight. 'First, he levied a contribution upon Dhrângudrâ, the lord of 'eighteen hundred villages. Wudwân he fined most certainly; 'he fined, too, Wânkâner; Limree and Syelâ he fined; he col-'lected whatever he demanded with his mouth. The Soubah 'fined all Jhâlâwâr, defeating them; he fined the lord of Moor-'bee; he fined Mâleeâ. The unbending Jâm he fined; four 'thousand chiefs were fined by the Soubah. Hâlâr he took 'possession of; firing cannon balls, he fined the Joonagurh 'Nowaub. Fining the Kâtees, he reduced their land to 'weakness. The lord of Por he fined, the Mânâ, the Jetwâ; 'he fined the Choorâsumâ; none could contend against him. 'All Soreth fining, he advanced against Seehore; the earth 'began to shake, so mighty an army advanced. Five kos 'distant he encamped at Âmbulâ. "Âto has conquered much 'territory. I must have money in proportion." Then, on each 'side, the guns were fired—wall-pieces and swivels. Bullets

'flew like rain; the Mahrattas grew weary; streams of blood 'flowed from their bodies; they lost courage. Many were 'slain, many had their heads cleft asunder, the eyes of many 'were darkened. Wuktá's warriors plundered the Bâbâ's army 'like lions unchained; the ground was covered with corpses 'and heads; they sought to escape in all directions.

'This misfortune befel Bâbâ in Sumwut, 1860 (A. D. 1804). 'For five months he could find no means of escape; the Soubah 'was very much distressed. Of collecting tribute he lost the 'recollection; all he thought of was escaping. In his tent he 'sat, and hid his head. When he passed an acquittance then he 'obtained permission to retire. To what Bhâwo's grandson 'proposed he was forced to agree; he came to exact a fine, but 'discovered he had one to pay, for the two-and-a-half lakhs 'which he carried away had cost him full five.'

At the time of Colonel Walker's appearance in Kâteewâr, the Râwul of Bhownugger, in addition to the ports of Mhowa and Tulâjâ,[1] and the districts already mentioned, had established his authority in nearly the whole of Wâlâk and in the district of Sâbur Koondlâ, and other places of less note. The disturbed state of society rendered the realization of his revenue very precarious, and he was supposed to be deeply involved in debt, from the necessity which he had experienced of increasing his forces to support himself against the Kâtees. His military establishment consisted of five hundred Arab, and two thousand five hundred Sindhian, infantry, with about five hundred regularly maintained horse. He could also collect from the villages of the Bhyud,[2] or cadets of the Gohil clan, three thousand Rajpoot horse; and to assist in predatory expeditions, though incapable of military operations, he could muster, also, two thousand five hundred 'weavers'. He had also of late entertained a body of a hundred horse belonging to Bhâwâ Meeâ, the Purmâr Kusbâtee of Dholka, for whose payment he had assigned the ancient possession of that family—the village of

[1] [For the ports of Mahuva and Talâja see *Bombay Gazetteer*, viii. 536 f., 660 ff.]

[2] [*Bhayyâd*, 'the brotherhood', Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i. 154, 202, ii. 961.]

Botâd in the pergunnah of Rânpoor, which stood opposed to Jusdun, a principal seat of the Kâtees, across the border. The town of Gogo,[1] as a port of the Moguls, had been subject to the governor of Cambay. It had assumed the name of bârah—a title nearly synonymous with 'harbour', but usually implying the possession of some portion of landed territory. On the division of Goozerat between the Guikowâr and the Peshwah, Gogo bârah fell to the latter authority, while the Moolukgeeree revenue of the remainder of Gohilwâr was assigned to the former. The whole was, however, eventually transferred to the British.

The Gohil clan possessed in the whole about eight hundred villages, of which about six hundred and fifty belonged to the Râwul Wukhut Singh. The chieftains generally resided in places of difficult access, and some of them had built extensive stone fortifications, which were, however, but indifferently provided with cannon, as well as deficient in other means of defence. Of the junior branches of the clan, the principal were those of Wulleh, Lâtee, and Pâleetânâ. The first of the Wulleh family, who were seated amidst the ruins of the ancient city of Sheelâditya, was Veesobhâee, the second son of Bhow Singh Râwul, the founder of Bhownugger. His grandson, Megh Râj or Mugobhâee, now held thirty-two villages. The chief of Pâleetânâ was descended from Sâhâjee, one of the younger sons of Sejukjee Gohil, to whom had been assigned the estate of Gâreeâdhâr; he possessed forty-two villages, of which, however, nearly the half were uninhabited. Oomurjee, of Pâleetanâ, had been obliged a few years before to solicit the support of the Guikowâr government, and his territories were at the time in a state of complete subjection, many of his villages had been mortgaged, and the enemies he had provoked had deprived him of others. The tranquillity of his district was now maintained by the presence of a Mahratta garrison in his ancient capital of Gâreeâdhâr. Soor Singh, the chief of Lâtee, and representative of Sârungjee, another of the younger sons of the first Gohil chieftain, retained but five villages of his original estate. The total destruction of this branch of the family had, indeed, been prevented only by the marriage of Dâmâjee Guikowâr with the

[1] [Gogha in Ahmadābād District, *Bombay Gazetteer*, iv. 339 ff.]

daughter of Lâkhâjee, the then chieftain. By this connexion the Gohils of Lâtee secured the support and protection of the Baroda government, and an exemption from the payment of their Moolukgeeree tribute, which was commuted for the yearly offering of a horse in acknowledgment of supremacy. The dowry of the Gohil lady was, however, the district of Chuburra, since called after the name of her Mahratta bridegroom, Dâmnugger.

Numerous other Rajpoot estates, principally belonging to scions of the Jhâreja house of Kutch, were included in Colonel Walker's settlement of Kâteewâr, in addition to the chieftainships to which we have alluded, but to these we do not propose to refer, as we possess no original information in regard to them, and as their affairs have been as yet unconnected with the events of our story.

CHAPTER VIII

BOUCHERÂJEE—THE CHOONWÂL [1]

As the Purmârs of Dântâ with the Ârâsooree Mother, so the tribes of the Choonwâl are indissolubly connected with a more modern, but scarcely less famous, Devee, Shree Boucherâjee. Some Chârun women, says the tradition, were travelling from Sulkhunpoor, to a neighbouring village, when the Koolees attacked and plundered them. One of the women, whose name was Boucherâ, snatched a sword from a boy, who attended her, and with it cut off both her breasts. She immediately perished. Her sisters, Boot and Bulâl, also committed suicide, and they, as well as Boucherâ, became Devees. Shree Boucherâjee is worshipped in the Choonwâl; Boot Mother, at Urnej, near Kot; and Bulâl Devee, at Bâkulkoo, about fifteen miles south of Seehore.[2]

[1] ['Chunvāliyas, also called Jahāngrias, take their name from Chunvāl, a tract of country in the north-east of the Viramgām subdivision of the Ahmadābād district, so called from its originally containing forty-four villages. Chunvāliyas are mostly found in Ahmadābād and Kāthiāwār. They are a wild, untractable race who at one time were the terror of north Gujarāt. The Chunvāliya Thākordas or landholders, who belong to the Mākvāna tribe of Kolis and claim to be Jhāla Rājpūts, having married into good families, are good-looking and fair, like the Talabdas. But the bulk of the Chunvāliyas have more of the features and characteristics of the Bhīl, than whom they are only a little higher in position and intelligence. . . . The Chunvāliya Kolis were a body of organized plunderers. Led by chiefs or Thākordas of partly Rājpūt descent, they lived in villages protected by almost impassable thorn fences, and levied contributions from the districts round; planning, if refused, regular night attacks, and dividing the booty according to recognized rules. As they had been almost entirely uncontrolled by the Marāthas, at the beginning of British rule the Chunvāliya Kolis more than once, in 1819 and 1825, rose in revolt. On their second rising their hedges and other fortifications were removed, and their power as an organized body of plunderers was crushed.' *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. ix, part i, p. 239, *s.v.* Chunvāliya.]

[2] [The goddess Bahucharā is, like Ambā Bhavānī, a pre-Hindu deity, incorporated by the usual process of syncretism with a certain Chāran

Upon the spot where Boucherâ perished, one of those rugged, cairn-like memorials, called 'Khâmbees,' was erected. This was afterwards supplanted by a temple of the smallest size, which is still in existence. A second temple, of somewhat larger dimensions, was erected in front of the first building, and so near to it as almost to close the entrance. The first of these erections is attributed to an apparently fabulous personage, Sulukh Raja; the second, to a Mahratta Furnuvees. Beside them, but turned in a different direction, is a large temple, possessing a spire and two domes, which was erected, in A. D. 1783, by Mânâjee Row Guikowâr, the brother of Futteh Singh, and younger son of the great Dâmâjee. In front of this building, is the pit used for fire-sacrifice, and beyond the fire-pit stands a pyramidal altar, called 'châchur,' or 'the cross-roads,' upon which animals are offered. Several houses of accommodation for pilgrims surround the temple, with lines of pedlar-like stalls, where the necessaries for worship, and various little knick-knacks for private use, are exhibited for sale. In one corner is an octagonal tower, of two stages, surmounted by an open, domed pavilion, called 'Deep-mâlâ,' or 'the Lamp-garland.' The two solid stages are chequered with niches for lamps, which, on days of festival, make a brilliant display of light. A battlemented wall, loop-holed for musketry, and protected by circular towers at the four corners, surrounds the temples and their subordinate buildings. The gateways are three in number. The principal one is contained in a rectangular tower, of which the upper portion forms a room, containing the royal drums and other instruments of music. From the terraced roof of the tower,

woman who committed *trāga*, or self-mutilation. Chāran women are regarded with much veneration and addressed as *Mātā*. The ghost of a Chāran woman who has committed *trāga* is *a fortiori*, an object of the greatest dread. 'According to the last Kāthiāwār census of Kachhela Chārans, who within the last fifteen years have settled at Hālol near Pāvāgarh in the Panch Mahāls, the nine lakhs of Mātās or Mothers were all unmarried Chāran girls. It was because the famous Kālikā Mātā of Pāvāgarh top was a Chāran woman of the Nesda clan that these Chārans came from Kāthiāwār and settled in Hālol.' *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix, I, 216 *n*. For *trāga*, see vol. i, p. 302, l. 11, *note*, and Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed., p. 937.]

the view extends on all sides over a flat, open country, studded with villages, each nestling in its clump of trees. Among them may be discerned Chundoor, Punchâsur, and Wunod, recalling the story of the first of the Unhilwârâ princes, Wâghel, the cradle of the latest scions of the race, and Kunsâgur, with its princely remains of their mid-day splendour. Sulkhunpoor stands hard by, and, nearer still, a hamlet bearing the goddess's name of 'Bechur.' A grove of bâbul and other trees of scanty foliage hedges the fort itself. Outside the walls is a small square tank, called the 'Mân Surowur,' celebrated for the miraculous cures which have been effected by its waters, and at no great distance from it, are other larger, but less celebrated, reservoirs.

The fame of Boucherâjee is said to be principally, if not entirely, owing to Wullubh Bhut, a Mewârâ Brahmin, of Ahmedabad, who, about the year A. D. 1744, composed many ballad poems in her praise, which, in a collected form, constitute the Boucherâjee Poorân. He celebrates her under the style of Doorgâ, a goddess to whom, however, the name of Boucherâjee is not otherwise attributed. No image is used in any of the numerous temples which have been, at different places in Goozerat, erected to the honour of Shree Boucherâjee. The object of worship is a square panel covered with pieces of tinsel, and placed in a niche which fronts the rising sun. At the Nowrâttra, and similar festivals, Koolees and others, when their children or friends are threatened with death, present to Boucherâjee, in addition to the usual fire-sacrifice, vicarious offerings of animals, usually the goat or the calf of the buffalo. The sacrifice is performed in the open air, at the altar called 'Châchur,' in front of the great temple. At other times, sacrifice of liquor and flesh is offered to Boucherâjee publicly by Rajpoots, Koolees, and others, and secretly, at night-time, by Brahmins and Wâneeâs, who practise a species of Shuktee-worship, and call themselves of the sect of the Mâtâ. These offerings are consumed by the worshippers after presentation. Brahmins and Wâneeâs also offer live cocks to the Mâtâ, placing them in the niche where she is worshipped. These accumulate, and are usually very numerous about the temple. A story is told of one of these cocks, which having been

cooked and eaten by an audacious Mohummedan, burst through his belly, and came forth alive :—

He ate a cock,
In oil having cooked it ;
From the Mlech's body,
You called it, Bechurâ !

Whence the people of Goozerat say to a person who keeps back from another what is due to him, 'Take care, lest it 'prove a Boucherâjee's cock to you.' Lame, blind, and other impotent persons, persons desiring a son, or other blessing, make vows to Boucherâjee ; they approach her temple, and there remain seated beside the Mân Surowur, abstaining from all food, until they fancy that they have heard the Mâtâ promising to them the accomplishment of their desires, when they arise and return home. Those who are indebted to Boucherâjee for the gift of a son, gratefully call him after her name, 'Bechur.' Vows to Boucherâjee are made even by persons professing the Jain religion.

The officiating priests of this goddess are Brahmins, but the musicians and some of the other servants are Mohummedans. The owners of the temple's revenues are persons called Kumâleeâs,[1] said to be about one hundred in number, of both sexes, and of all ages, and who assert themselves to have been created by the goddess. Though they worship Boucherâjee, and bear about her trident, they nevertheless profess the Mohummedan religion, a fact which they account for by pretending to have been forcibly converted by Allah-ood-deen. Only the less valuable offerings, however, are the property of the Kumâleeâs ; those which are more costly being reserved under the care of the Guikowâr's officers, for the expenses of the temple. The right of the Kumâleeâs to even the share which they enjoy is, moreover, disputed by the Rajpoot landholders of the neighbouring village of Kâlree. A few years ago, these, to the number of about forty, simultaneously entered the precincts of Boucherâjee by the three doors, and put to death as many of the Kumâleeâs as they could find. Their victims, about ten in number, were buried outside the gate of

[For the legend of the creation of the Kamālia attendants on the goddess Bahucharā or Bechrājī, see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vii, 612.]

Boucherâjee, the murderers having for the time effected their escape. A class still more degraded than the Kumâleeâs is also to be found in the service of Shree Boucherâjee—the Pâweeâs,[1] who are eunuchs, and who, if universal belief be true, prostitute themselves to unnatural practices. They wear the dress of females, with the male turban. They are about four hundred in number, of whom the half reside at Teekur, near Hulwud, while others rove about the country extorting alms, by the usual means of intimidation and annoyance employed by other classes of wandering ascetics, both Hindoo and Mohummedan. Some of the Pâweeâs, it is commonly asserted, have amassed considerable wealth.

A few miles from the temple of Boucherâjee is the town of Detroj—'the Heart of the Choonwâl.' The Devee has another temple there, which some consider to be her original shrine. She is the family goddess of the Koolee chiefs, called Thâkurrâs, of that neighbourhood, and, until lately, a festival was held annually at Detroj, on the day before the Nowrâttra, when the assembled Thâkurrâs sacrificed thirteen buffalo calves upon her altar. The wild chieftains used, however, on these occasions to inflame themselves with drink, and quarrels, frequently terminating in bloodshed, invariably ensued. The fair of the Mâtâ, at Detroj, has, therefore, of late years been suppressed, but the Thâkurrâs still, on the appointed day, repair separately to the borders of Detroj, and sacrifice, each of them, a buffalo calf in Boucherâjee's honor.

The head of a branch of the royal Solunkhee house became connected, say the bards of the Choonwâl, with a Kooleen of Detroj, but at what time this took place is not known. His descendants intermingled with the Koolees, and one of them, Kânjee, surnamed the Rât,[2] or barber, held forty-four villages, from whence was derived the name of 'Choonwâl.'[3]

[1] [For the Pavya eunuch attendants on the goddess see *Bombay Gazetteer*, vii, 613.]

[2] A corruption, probably, of the word 'Râwut,' meaning a war-like chief.

[3] *Choonwâlees-gâm* meaning forty-four villages. These Rajpoot chiefs, heading tribes of aboriginal descent, afford an exact parallel to the foreign leaders of Highland clans in Scotland. 'It is a circumstance 'worthy of notice, that when the great families at the head of the High-

Once on a time, it is said, a bard from Jâmnugger, named Jhâr Guduwee, came to Detroj, on his return from a pilgrimage

'land tribes have been traced far back, they have generally been found 'to be of Teutonic race. The chiefs of the Macdonalds, Macleods, and 'Mackintoshes, were of Norwegian blood. Those of the Frasers, Gor-'dons, Campbells, Cumins, and many others, were Norman. It seems as 'if the Celtic people—energetic, brave, and enduring as they were, as 'followers—required, like some oriental races, the leadership of captains 'issuing from races better fitted for organising and commanding. In 'some instances, the foreign family adopted a purely Celtic patronymic, 'from the name of the sept of which they were the leaders. In other 'cases, such as the Gordons and Frasers, the sept, probably absorbing 'various small tribes, and admitting to its bosom many stray members, 'owning strange varieties of uncouth Celtic denominations, took the 'name of the leader; hence, we find the purest Erse spoken by people 'enjoying the Norman names of a Gordon or a Cumin. But, whether 'the chief adopted the name of the tribe, or the tribe that of the chief, 'the unyielding influence of old national customs and peculiarities 'prevailed over the higher civilisation of the leaders, and their families 'gradually adapted themselves in speech and method of life to the people 'over whom they held sway. The same phenomenon was exhibited 'in Ireland, where the "degenerate English," who, living from genera-'tion to generation among the native Celtic Irish, had adopted the 'customs and costume of those they were expected to civilise, elicited 'the ceaseless denunciations of the English government, and the penal 'wrath of Parliament.'—*Vide* Burton's *Life of Simon, Lord Lovat.*

The following is a list of the Rajpoot-Koolee Thâkurrâs, of Goozerat:—*The Solunkhees*, of Kookwâv, Bhunkorâ, Chuneeâr, and Dekhâwârâ, in the Choonwâl; *the Mukwânâs*, of Kutosun, Junjoowârâ, and Punâr; *the Râthors*, of Ghântee and Wâghpoor, on the banks of the Sâbhermutee; *the Dâbhees*, of Ghorâsur, in the Churotur; *the Chohâns*, of Umleeârâ, in the Myhee Kântâ; and *the Wâghelas*, of Kâkurej. In the case of each of these families, their first connection with the Koolees separated them at once from the Rajpoot clans to which they belonged, and reduced them, of necessity, ever after to the adoption of the manners and customs of the Koolees, though, in most cases, modified so as to approach more nearly to those of the pure Hindoo tribes. [' Since the settlement of the Mairs in Gujarāt reverses of fortune, especially the depression of the Rājputs under the yoke of the Musalmāns in the fourteenth century, did much to draw closer the bond between the middle and higher grades of the warrior class. Then many Rājputs sought shelter among the Kolis and married with them, leaving descendants who still claim a Rājput origin and bear the names of Rājput families. Apart from this, and probably the result of an original sameness of race, in some parts of Gujarāt and Kāthiāwār intermarriage goes on between the daughters of Talabda Kolis and the sons of Rājputs. In this respect the relations between Kolis and Rājputs are closer than those between Kolis and

to Benares, and put up at Kânjee Rât's house, where he was very well received, and presented with a horse. The Chârun going home praised Kânjee Rât very much in the Jâm's presence, mentioning that it was because he was the Jâm's family bard that he had been so well received. The Jâm upon this sent a dress of honor to Kânjee Rât. The Putel of Detroj, whose name was Gopee, was all-powerful in the town at this time. He was envious of the honor paid to Kânjee Rât, and sent him orders to quit the town. Kânjee retired, accordingly, from Detroj, and took up his residence at Jângurâ-pura, four miles off. When the day devoted to the obsequies of deceased progenitors came round, Kânjee Rât sent a torch-bearer into Detroj to ask for milk, as he was preparing for the performance of his father's anniversary ceremonies. The torch-bearer procured milk from house to house, and at last went to Gopee putel's, and told him that he too must give milk. The putel flew into a passion, and caused his servants to break the vessel in which the torch-bearer carried the milk he had collected. Kânjee Rât's servant, therefore, was obliged to return to his master, weeping for the failure of his mission. The Rât was very much hurt at the putel's conduct, but thought it better to dissemble for the present. At this time a Chârun came to Kânjee's lodging, and when he had sung a song, he begged the Rât for a silk scarf. This Kânjee had it not in his power to give, he sorrowfully repeated a verse,—

In recompense of what sin was I born
The son of a great father ?
A mendicant asks me for silk ;
At home I have not even cotton.

Kânjee resolved within himself that he would go and sacrifice his life before the Mâtâ at Detroj. Meanwhile he lay down to rest. In the night the Mâtâ appeared to him in a dream, and said, 'Be not afraid. Come to Detroj the day 'before the Nowrâttra. A buffalo calf will meet you outside

Kanbis or between Rājputs and Kanbis. And it would appear that at least in a considerable section of the class the distinction between Rājput and Koli is one rather of order and rank than of race and tribe.' *Bombay Gazetteer*, Gujarāt population, ix, I, pp. 238–9. See also the article on *Kolis* in the *Kāthiāwār Gazetteer* ,pp. 139–142.]

'the village: this you must sacrifice to me, and then you may 'plunder the putel's house victoriously. As a proof of the 'reality of this dream, I give you a silk scarf, which you may 'present to the mendicant.' Having thus spoken, the Mâtâ became invisible. Kânjee awoke, and found a silk scarf lying beside him. In the morning he gave it to the Chârun. When the day before the Nowrâtta arrived, he assembled his friends, two hundred in number, well mounted and armed, and with them advanced to Detroj. At the gate of the town he found a very fine buffalo calf belonging to the putel. He killed it before the Mâtâ, and sprinkled her with its blood. At this time the padishah had a garrison in a fort outside the gate of Detroj. Kânjee Rât posted a hundred horsemen to observe the garrison, and taking the remaining hundred with him, went to the putel's house, and ordered him to pay him obeisance. This Gopee putel refused to do, whereupon Kânjee slew him, with six of his sons. The seventh son he saved alive, and Kâleedâs, the present Putel of Detroj, is that son's descendant.

A complaint was made at Delhi that the putel had been put to death, and the padishah sent Azim Khân to reduce Kânjee to submission. There was at that time a very extensive forest about Detroj, called the 'Jânguro Forest,' of which the following story is related:—When Dhârâ Shah[1] fled before his brother, he came to Detroj, and Kânjee Rât offered to protect him there. Dhârâ asked where the fort was in which he was to be sheltered. To which Kânjee replied that the forest was stronger than any fort. Dhârâ answered, 'The 'padishah's camels would eat this forest, and the timber of it 'would make stakes for fastening his horses. However, it is 'well in you that you have so much courage.' Thus speaking, Dhârâ Shah pursued his journey to Sindh. Now Azim Khân, when he arrived, lost no time in clearing the forest, upon which Kânjee fled to Kutosun, where a connection of his, named Jeswunt Singh, was living. They jointly opposed Azim Khân, but were at last obliged to fly to Junjoowârâ, where

[1] [Dārā Shikoh, the eldest son of Shāh Jahān. Kānji Koli 'conducted him through Gujarāt to the confines of Kachh', when he was fleeing from Aurangzeb. Sarkar, *History of Aurangzeb*, ii, 194.]

they were received by Jehojee Mukwânâ. The whole of the allies were, however, at length compelled to fly to Thurrâ, in the Kâkurej country, where a Koolee Thâkor, named Koompojee, then ruled. Koompojee joined them, and they continued their retreat to the hill called 'Kurjâ,' where they held out for twelve years, living the life of outlaws, until at length a waneeâ of Chundoor, named Kurum Shee, who was employed by Azim Khân as his revenue minister, effected a reconciliation between them and the padishah, and procured the restoration of their pergunnahs. The Thâkurrâs bound themselves, therefore, to Kurum Shee, that none of their race should gallop a horse near Chundoor, nor injure any of its inhabitants.

The Shah's court listened to the complaint about Gopee.
They said, 'Will no one seize Kân ?
'Let us send a stout Umeer to Goozerat
'To crush this Jânguro Kânuro.'

With honor Azim Khân was sent
To set crooked things straight.
Kân and Jeswunt, fighting, he drove out ;
With them fled Raja Jesheeo.

Kumo [1] was made Deewân by Azim.
Several rajas submitted to him.
From fear of Azim, Thurrâ's lord fled ;
The rajas, all of them, fled to Kurjureeâ.

At Kurjâ they held out—praised be their valour !
Why should I make the story long ?
Jeswunt, Kân, Koomprâj, and Jesheeo,
The Râthwee [2] protected like a hedge.

From this time Kânjee Rât held Detroj without interruption, and attained to great power and fame. It is even said that the padishah conferred upon him royal insignia, a drum, bearers of silver rods, and a state umbrella.

Kânjee was succeeded by Râmsunghjee, Udebhânjee, and Nâronjee. The plinth of the funeral temple of this latter chief still exists at Bhunkorâ, in the Choonwâl, and an inscription thereon states, that 'Rât Shree Nâronjee's chutree' was

[1] Kurumshee of Chundoor.
[2] A title of Kurumshee's.

erected by his brother, Shree Hureesunghjee, and his Koonwur, Shree Kânâjee, in A. D. 1720.

Kânâjee, the younger, appears to have emulated the fame of his predecessor of the same name.

O! Kânâjee, Kânâ's quiver,
Thou didst bind on thee in thine youth.
Another could not support its weight.
O! Dev-descended chief of Detroj!

Like Kânjee Rât, he was at war with the Mohummedans.

The world with outcries went before the Shah,
The padishah heard the true word they said,
'As before in Agra, Jânguro Kânuro was famed.
'A Kânuro Jânguro has arisen again.'

He has wall-pieces and warriors, his kettle-drums resound;
Black elephants he keeps with him, does Nundo's son;
His subjects cry, 'What great matter is it to slay footmen?
'He slew a nowaub with his banner and flag.'

He is a striker of many blows, he is of great strength,
Three kinds of army he leads to crush his enemies,
He makes war-music sound, he destroys difficult forts,
He adorns his father's seat, does the grandson of Udebhân.

Against the padishah continually he carries on war;
The padishah's subjects suffer fear not to be allayed.
'Wah! wah!' cried out the courtiers of the Jâm;
'Kâno padishah destroys the troopers of the Shah.'

Another verse thus celebrates his generosity—a virtue as necessary to the bardic hero as valour itself:—

Indra rains but four months,
You rain the whole twelve;
He sends prosperity sometimes,
You are ever relieving the poverty of poets;
He thunders in the sky,
You thunder upon earth;
He rains money and grain,
You rain horses;
Detroj Rân! giver of gifts,
I behold you increasing like the moon;
O Kânâ, son of Nundo,
I pronounce you to be equal to Indra!

Kânâjee appears to have held only a fourth share of the Choonwâl, which had been already divided—at what time is

unknown—into the estates of Kookwâv, Bhunkorâ, Chuneeâr, and Dekhâwârâ. He divided his own share among his sons during his life-time. Nuthoobhâee, the eldest, received the villages of Râmpoorâ, Kânpoorâ, and Kânj; Dâdo, the second son, had Duslânoo and Nâronpoor; Bhooput Singh, the youngest, Koeenteeoo and Ghuteshânoo. Kânâjee retained the rest of the estate for himself, consisting of the villages of Bhunkorâ, Kântrodee, Chooneenoo-puroo, Dângurwoo, Bâlshâshun, Endurâ, and Kudwâhun.

On the death of Kânâjee, Bhooput Singh, who was then twelve years old, was driven from the estate by his elder brothers, and retired to the house of the Thâkurrâ of Chuneeâr, who was his distant kinsman. He had a favorite goat, which on one occasion fought with a goat belonging to the Thâkurrâ of Chuneeâr, and, being beaten, ran away. Bhooput Singh was much enraged with his goat, and said to it, 'Shame on 'you, that you have taken away my character.' He cut off the goat's head. The Chuneeâr chief was afraid that Bhooput Singh might some day be angry in a similar way with his children, and might do them injury. He therefore determined upon sending him away. Bhooput Singh retired to Koeenteeoo, one of the villages which had been assigned to him by his father, and took up his residence there. Now Koompojee Mukwânâ of Punâr was advised by his minister, Puthoo, to give his daughter in marriage to Bhooput Singh. Koompojee, who was a chief very famous throughout the country, asked how such a thing could be thought of while Bhooput Singh had no lands. The minister replied, that if Koompojee were to assist him, Bhooput Singh would soon recover his estate. So the lady was married to the young Thâkurrâ, and his father-in-law, Koompojee, collecting two thousand Koolees, put to death his brother, Dâdo, and Dâdo's son, Bunesung, at Duslânoo, upon which Nuthoobhâee, the other brother, fled away for fear, and took shelter first at Kutosun and then at Ghântee. Bhooput Singh upon this seized his father's and brothers' estates, and seated himself at Bhunkorâ.

An Uteet of the Gosâee monastery at Bhunkorâ used to come and go to the apartments of the mother of Bhooput Singh. The Wâneeâ ministers took advantage of this to tell

tales to Bhooput Singh, and say that, from the Wâneeâ's[1] coming to the durbâr, the Thâkor's name was spoken ill of. Bhooput Singh was enraged at the thought, and slew his mother with his sword. The Uteet thereupon fled, and never returned, but his disciple took possession of the monastery.

At this time the 'Meleekurs,' or forayers, of Koompojee Mukwânâ of Punâr ranged the whole country from Wudwân and Limree on one side, to Ahmedabad on the other. The Raja of Sânund gave Koompojee a horse every year at the Deewâlee, and arranged that his territories should be exempted from forays. Koompojee levied black-mail on many other villages also. Now Jethâ Putel, of Mândul, was in great favor with the Mahrattas, and used to precede the Peshwah's army when it came into the country to levy tribute from the Bhoomeeâ chiefs. At one time two lakhs of rupees of tribute were due to the Peshwah by the Râj of Hulwud. Jethâ Putel went there to arrange for the payment of these arrears. At that time the Bâee[2] was managing the estate in the minority of the Koonwur. She told Jethâ Putel that she had not the means of paying the arrears at that time, her country having been but lately wasted by the chief of Wudwân, who allowed her not a moment's respite. Jethâ Putel threatened that if his demand were not complied with he would enforce it by firing the town. So saying he went away. Now Koompojee was the adopted brother of the Bâee, and she sent for him, and told him that she should never be at rest until Jethâ Putel was dead. Jethâ came about the same time to a Punâr village, called Chureeâloo, to fasten a garland on behalf of the Peshwah. Koompojee took the opportunity to quarrel with him, and slew him with his sword—a deed which gave great satisfaction to all the Bhoomeeâs.

After this Koompojee made a foray upon Od-Kumod, near Ahmedabad, with a hundred and fifty horsemen in chain armor. He drove off the cattle. There was, however, in the village a post of sixty Mahratta horse. These horsemen came upon the 'wâr,' but Koompojee engaged them, and repulsed

[1] [There seems to be some mistake here. The author apparently means '*Uteet*'. *Atīta* is a Śaivite ascetic. cf. vol. i. p. 358. *n.*]

[2] [The Rānī Jijibā, mother of Jaśvantsinghji. *Kāth. Gaz.* 429.]

them with the loss of twenty of their number, he himself losing only four of his followers. There was, however, another post at Sirkhej, and a Wâneeâ minister, with only six horsemen and a pair of kettle-drums, came suddenly upon the Koolees, during one of their halts. The Meleekurs, when they heard the drums, supposed themselves to be attacked by an officer at the head of a large force, and so took to flight. Koompojee Thâkurrâ, as he galloped off, was struck through from behind with a spear, and fell dead. The Mahrattas carried off the corpse, and refused to give it up until Shâmtâjee, Koompojee's son, promised that he would never make a foray upon their village again. Having obtained the body, Shâmtâjee committed it to the flames at Punâr, and erected a pâleeyo at Od-Kumod.

To return to Bhooput Singh. Mulhâr Row Guikowâr sent from Kuree to claim the villages of Kântrodee, Koeenteeoo, and Ghuteshânoo as Guikowâr property, but Bhooput Singh refused to surrender them, and the dispute lasted for a number of years. At one time several cart loads of silk goods, the property of a Puttun merchant, passing along under the protection of the Chuneeâr Thâkurrâ's people, were seized by Bhooput Singh between Duslânoo and Bhunkorâ. Bhooput Singh allowed the merchant to ransom his property for fourteen thousand rupees. This conduct produced a great feud between him and Chuneeâr, in the course of which many men on both sides were slain, and Bhooput Singh himself was, on one occasion, wounded with a matchlock ball. Hunmunt Row, the brother of Mulhâr Row, advanced towards Bhunkorâ at this time with a Mahratta force from Kuree, and sent to Bhooput Singh to say, that as the Thâkurrâ was about to throw water on his head,[1] he had come to bind a turban for him. Bhooput Singh replied that he did not want the turban, and had no intention of allowing the Mahrattas to enter his town. Hunmunt Row, therefore, quartered his troops in the neighbouring villages, and sent to Kuree to say that Bhooput Singh was not to be caught by stratagem. Upon this, Mulhâr Row forwarded Bhooput Singh a safe conduct, and invited him to Kuree. On his arrival he repeated

[1] That is, to bathe for the first time after recovering from his wound.

his demand for the three villages, which was again rejected by Bhooput Singh. It was near harvest time, and the grain was ripening in the fields. Bhooput Singh laid them all waste, and leaving his village, placed his wife and children at Veerumgâm, and 'went out.' He had three hundred horse of his own, and his allies swelled his force to the number of two thousand. He plundered the Guikowâr's villages.

Bhooput Singh used the royal drums and umbrella which had been granted by the padishah to his ancestor, Kânjee Rât. While he was 'out,' Mulhâr Row began to destroy his house with his cannon. A Chârun sneeringly said,—'What wonder 'is there that Bhooput Singh should fight; but now the very 'bricks of his house are turned warriors!' Mulhâr Row was ashamed of his proceeding when he heard this, and retired. Bhooput Singh continued for a long time to be a terror to the Mahrattas;—

Kuree and Bhunkorâ fought,
Sattara and the Jâm heard it,
Bhooput went to the battle
As Râm against Râwun.

Descendant of Kânâ! the enemies'
Flesh-devourer,
Your sword
Has become a terrible Dâkin.

Women of the Mahrattas,
How can ye wear ornaments,
Over your heads hangs a great terror,
For ready to engage stands Bhooputo.

Mulhâr Row did not perceive the snake's house,
Unwittingly he set his foot thereon,
The mighty serpent awoke,
Bhooputo, the invincible warrior.

Kuree he will dig up by the roots,
He will force them to sue for peace;
Bhooputo will enjoy the land,
He will strike Row Mulhâr.

Senseless many swaggered,
Mahrattas and Toorkoras,[1]
On all four sides your servants—
You made them, O Bhooputo!

[1] A name of contempt for Toorks or Mohummedans.

When a son was born to Mulhâr Row, at Kuree, a servant of his went into the market to purchase ginger for the use of the Rânee, that root being much used by Hindoo women as a tonic after child-birth. The servant kept on saying, 'We 'must have the very best ginger in your shop.' The grocer said, 'Bhooput Singh's mother has eaten all the best ginger, 'there's none left now but what's dry.' The damsel went home, and mentioned what the grocer had said to Mulhâr Row. He was enraged, and plundered the grocer's house. When Bhooput Singh heard this, he made up to the grocer his loss. In this way, Mulhâr Row and Bhooput Singh were opposed for many years. At length when Mulhâr Row went to war with the English and the Baroda state, he called in Bhooput Singh from Junjoowârâ to his aid, and when Mulhâr Row was made prisoner it was to Bhooput Singh's care that he confided his family.

The following anecdotes are related of this chief :—

The Kâtee of Dhândulpoor, named Godud, was attacked by the Nowaub of Joonagurh. He sought aid from the Râj of Hulwud, but that chief was afraid of the nowaub, and refused to assist him. Godud Kâtee then sent for Bhooput Singh, who went to Dhândulpoor, and defended it successfully.

The chief of Hulwud had encroached upon the lands of the grassia of Methân, who is the head of a younger branch of his family. Upon this the Methân Jhâlâ gave his daughter to Bhooput Singh, as other chiefs had given daughters, on like occasions, to Mohummedans, and the Râj of Hulwud, from fear of Bhooput Singh, withdrew immediately from the lands which he had seized.

Bhooput Singh used to give feasts to Brahmins on the twelfth days of both divisions of the month. He maintained also a charitable establishment in his village for the poor, and forbore from plundering the poor, though he made war upon rajas. He died in A. D. 1814.

In the neighbourhood of the Solunkhee-Koolees of the Choonwâl are the Mukwânâ-Koolees, who possess the estates of Junjoowârâ, Kutosun, and Punâr. Kesur, the Mukwâno,[1]

[1] *Vide* vol. i, pp. 285–7.

had, in addition to his son, Hurpâl, the ancestor of the Jhâlâ clan, two other sons, Wujepâl and Shâmtâjee. Wujepâl was wounded and taken prisoner in a battle against the Mohummedans, and became a Molesulám. His descendants are the Mohummedan chiefs of Mândoowâ in the Myhee Kântâ, who bore the family title of Lâl Meeâ, and have been alluded to in the story of Row Veerum Dev of Eedur.[1] Shâmtâjee took forcible possession of the town of Sânthul, at which his descendant, Kânojee, resided in the days of Mahmood Begurra. Kânojee married the daughter of a Bheel chieftain, and thus lost caste; he served, however, with distinction under the sultan, and Mahmood, therefore, made him a grant of the estate of Kutosun, which consisted of eighty-four townships. Thirteenth in descent from Kânojee was Nâronjee, Thâkor of Kutosun, from whose time the fortunes of the family may be very minutely traced, exhibiting, perhaps, the best example which Goozerat can furnish of the effects of the Hindoo custom of subdividing landed property. It is not, however, our intention to enter upon this task, as the subject, though interesting to the student of land-tenures, is unattractive to the general reader. The exploits of the Kutosun Mukwânâs do not furnish so good a field for bardic tale as those of their neighbours of Bhunkorâ, but the names of Ujbojee and Ugrojee, grandsons of Nâronjee, are not without fame in their way, and are celebrated in a ballad, from which we select, in conclusion, a few passages. The following is a picture of Ujbojee's court at Kutosun :—

'Drums sounded in the durbâr; water was sprinkled on 'the ground; many chiefs came thither to seek sanctuary, 'standing with their palms joined, they made their petitions. 'Before the descendant of Kânojee, as before Indra, sounded 'the thirty-six kinds of music; before him learned men read 'the Veds; sugar was supplied to the guests, goats flesh, and 'flesh of hog; opium and saffron were daily distributed; 'dancers performed before Ujbo; always in "color and 'music"[2] he sported; a pair of bugles sounded before him; 'the singers, swinging, elephant-like, from side to side, sang

[1] *Vide* vol. i, pp. 378 ff., &c.

[2] 'Rung-râg,' festivity.

'songs; in spending money, the chief was as free as Bulee Raja; 'at his cook-room, daily, rice and milk, and all kinds of ambrosia-like food were prepared; over his house always floated 'the flag of Dhurum;[1] such was the lord of the Choonwâl, who 'issued his commands even to the padishah. Well didst 'thou rise, Sun-like Mukwâno! son of Jusâ! the father of 'Hindoos, and the boundary! Nor less famous was his 'brother, Uguresh; the brothers recalled to men's minds the 'sons of Dusruth.'

Ujbojee was, according to the bard, an universal conqueror, he defeated alike, 'the Show Raja's army, the army of the 'Dekkanees,' and 'the army of Delhi;' but he did not neglect still more congenial achievements; 'from village to 'village he *fixed his grâs*,' or imposed his black-mail; 'every 'day he gained great fame in plundering. His Umeers were 'the Vishrodeeâ, the Punâra, the Murtoleeâ,' and a vast number of other half-clad lords of hamlets; he was not, however, deficient in wardrobe himself, for the bard particularly specifies that 'he dressed in silk and jewels.'

Ujbojee established his claim to a more honorable reputation, by throwing open his granaries to the poor, on the occasion of that terrible famine of A. D. 1813, the recollection of which, like the echo of some mournful strain that will not pass away, is sure to darken the most joyous verse of the bard:—

'The earth was distressed, rajas were without food, Rows 'and Rânâs had not a grain to bestow, husband and wife 'deserted each other, parents abandoned their children, the 'practice of religious-giving was forgotten; charitable establishments were broken up; the places of water were dry, 'not a drop fell from the heavens. At the time when daily 'from each village came such news as this, when all the 'country was a beggar, at that time did the descendant of 'Kâno unfurl his flag; open he threw his stores; though other 'rajas would not admit strangers to their villages, Ujubesh 'received them all. If Indra remained angry in Swerga, 'this Indra upon earth, at least, was propitious; he strove to 'drive the famine from the land.'

[1] That is, to invite comers to receive charity or religious gifts.

The following is an account of a war with the Mohummedans :—

'At this time, two Toorks ruled at Kuree, Âmbo Khân 'and Lembo: they oppressed the country. When they 'heard of the fame of Ujbo and Uguro, they wrote to Kuto-'sun to demand tribute and submission. Ujbo was furious 'when he heard the message. Uguro restrained him from 'slaying the messenger. They sent for the minister, Deep-'chund, the son of Mudunshâ; an irritating answer they 'made him write to the Toorkurâs, reminding them of the 'exploits of Kesur, and of the lords of Keruntee-gurh. The 'big-bearded Moslem assembled full of pride, they pitched 'their camp at Dângurwoo. When the news reached Kuto-'sun, Ujbo called in his brothers, Tejul, whose sword had 'never broken, Meghrâj, Jugto, and Sooruj Singh. Uguro, 'stroking his moustache, addressed them; the brothers swore 'they would do the duties of brotherhood. Vikumshee, the 'poet, cried, "Wâh! wâh!" he was pleased when he saw 'their courage; he incited them by singing the songs of their 'fathers; he sang of Shâmtâjee, of Sânthul, of Hurkhâ 'Showâee, of Kâno. Many Koolees came together; the 'twanging of bows sounded, each bore his quiver at his back; 'some were horsemen, some footmen, some soldiers of the 'night. Jhorâ and Jussâ came with the men of Jukânâ; Hemo 'came, of Ugurjâ; Mâno, of Murtolee,' and many others. We need not, however, enter upon the description of the battle, which is put together after the established bardic receipt; the Shesh Nâg trembled; Hindoo met Mohummedan as mountain meets mountain; the stream of blood flowed like a river; Shiva appeared, as usual on such occasions, with his staff of Veers, goblins, flesh-eaters, &c. Sooruj held in his horses, the chariot of the sun was stayed. 'Upsurâs and 'Howris came to carry to their celestial homes Hindoos and 'Moslem. Âmbo and Lembo, who turned not to flight, strove 'with the sword-armed Kshutree.'

All this is usual, the following, however, is peculiar :—

'When Uguresh excited him, Ujbo determined upon falling 'on the enemy by night, tiger-like, as well as fighting them 'by day. From tent to tent he dug mines; money and

'jewels, arms and clothes he carried away. In both ways 'the enemy received blows; having nothing to eat, away 'they scampered; of men and horses were left but a few. Reduced to such straits as these, the Mohummedans were glad to avail themselves of the offers of the Thâkor of Wursorâ, who now came forward, and, effecting a settlement of the matter in dispute, 'caused the strife to cease.'

CHAPTER IX

THE MYHEE KÂNTÂ

THE fiscal and military division of Goozerat, known to the Mahrattas by the name of the Myhee Kântâ, was not, as the name implied, confined to the banks of the Myhee, but extended northwards from that river to Poseenâ, Umbâjee, and the Bunâs, and included, in fact, all that portion of Goozerat proper which required the presence of a military force for the realization of the Guikowâr's tribute. The natural features, which we have described in the opening of this work, were, in a great degree, the causes of the very different state of subjection into which the various parts of the province had fallen. The level country was almost entirely reduced under the direct government of the Mahrattas, though the jungles of the Choonwâl, and the banks of the Myhee, as far south as Baroda, still furnished shelter to independent tribes, and many villages in Mondeh, Nâpâr, Dholka, and others of the richest districts, including those which belonged to the Rajpoot landholders, and in particular to the Wâghelas, required an annual armament to enforce payment of their tribute. As the smaller streams branched off, many independent communities appeared among the ravines and jungle on their banks; as these rivulets increased in number, and the forest grew thicker and more continuous, the independent territories also became more frequent, and were found in more solid masses until, at length, the still-untamed principalities of Eedur and Loonâwârâ were reached amidst the mountains of the north-east.

Many Koonbees, waneeâs, and others of the peaceable classes, were included among the population of the Myhee Kântâ, but the castes which bore arms, and in whom the whole authority of the country was vested, were Rajpoots, Koolees, or Mohummedans. Of these, the Koolees were, by far, the most numerous, though they were, for the most part, found under Rajpoot rule. The Rajpoots themselves were of two descriptions—the Marwarees, who had accompanied the reigning family of Eedur in its emigration from Jodhpoor; and the adherents of the

ancient Rows, whom we have already beheld driven to a last retreat at Pol. The former resembled the clans of Marwar in their costume and manners, but, in their present sequestered situation, had contracted an additional ruggedness. They were said to be very brave, but stupid, slothful, unprincipled, and devoted to the use of opium and intoxicating liquors. The Rehwurs, and other clans who still professed allegiance to the descendants of Row Sonungjee, were considered to be more civilized than the Marwarees, more honest, more submissive, but less active and warlike. All the Rajpoots used swords and shields, matchlocks and spears. They often wore defensive armor, either of leather or of chain, and placed it upon their horses ; they sometimes, but rarely, carried also bows. Their plan of war was to defend their villages ; they seldom, except after an ineffectual defence, took to the woods like the Koolees, and were quite incapable of the desultory warfare so congenial to the temper of the latter tribe. The Koolees, or Bheels (for, though the former would resent the classification, the distinctions between them need not here be noticed), were, as has been observed, by far the most numerous of the inhabitants of the Myhee Kântâ. They were more diminutive in stature than the other inhabitants, and their eyes wore an expression of liveliness and cunning. Their turbans, if they used any, were small ; their common head-dress was a cloth carelessly wrapped round the temples ; their clothes were usually few and coarse ; they were seldom seen without a quiver of arrows, and a long bamboo bow, which was instantly bent on any alarm, or even on the sudden approach of a stranger. The natives described them as wonderfully swift, active, and hardy ; incredibly patient of hunger, thirst, fatigue, and want of sleep ; vigilant, enterprising, secret, fertile in expedients, and admirably calculated for night attacks, surprises, and ambuscades. Their arms and habits rendered them unfit to stand in the open field,[1]

[1] The Scottish Lowlanders entertained a similar opinion of the Highland clans. A ballad, entitled 'Bonny John Seton,' has the following verses :—

The Highland men they're clever men,
At handling sword and shield ;
But yet they are too naked men
To stay in battle field.

and they were timid when attacked, but had, on several occasions, shown extraordinary boldness in assaults, even upon stations occupied by regular British troops. They were independent in spirit, and although all professed robbers, were said to be remarkably faithful when trusted, and were, certainly, never sanguinary. They were averse to regular industry, exceedingly addicted to drunkenness, and very quarrelsome when intoxicated. Their delight was plunder, and nothing was so welcome to them as a general disturbance in the country. The numbers of the Koolees would have rendered them formidable had they been capable of union, but though they had a strong fellow-feeling for each other they never regarded themselves as a nation, nor ever made common cause against an external enemy.

The revenue of the state of Eedur amounted to four lakhs of rupees, without including its dependencies of Ahmednugger and Morâsâ. In the time of the Rows, the Eedur territory had been much more extensive, but the pergunnahs of Kherâloo and Poorântej, had been conquered by the Sultans of Ahmedabad, while other districts had been absorbed by the Rânâs of Mewar, or the Râwuls of Doongurpoor. The Muhârâjâ of Eedur possessed, himself, no more than a revenue of one lakh, or one lakh and a half, the remainder was assigned to eight Rajpoot chiefs, who held of him, under the designation of 'puttâwuts,'[1] on condition of military service, and a small pecuniary payment. There were, besides, between twenty and thirty Rajpoot and Koolee chiefs, many of whom had held lands of the old Rows, for military service, but who now paid, instead, an annual tribute to the Muhârâjâ. The whole Eedur country was tributary to the Guikowâr, the levy being made

The Highland men are clever men,
  At handling sword or gun;
But yet they are too naked men
  To bear the cannon's rung.

For a cannon's roar in a summer night,
  Is like thunder in the air—
There 's not a man in Highland dress
  Can face the cannon's rair.

[1] [*Pattâvat*, *pattâyat*, 'the holder of a grant of land, a tributary chief.' Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, i. 182.]

in the first place upon the Muhârâjâ and his puttâwuts, but falling ultimately on the people of the country, upon whom an extra cess was imposed to meet it. The Muhârâjâ's personal force consisted of only fifty horse and one hundred and fifty foot; but as occasion required, it was increased to a much larger number, by the employment of mercenaries, of whom bands were never wanting. The puttâwuts' contingent was about one thousand strong, horse and foot, and there existed a further force of six hundred military vassals.

The chiefs of Ahmednugger, Morâsâ, and Bâyur were relations of the Muhârâjâ of Eedur, and held territory which was included in that principality, though they were in reality almost entirely independent. The chief of Ahmednugger, in particular, was the mortal foe of his kinsman of Eedur, and their enmity had of late been raised to the highest pitch by a dispute regarding Morâsâ, which the Muhârâjâ claimed as a fief that had reverted to him on the death of the last chief, while the Ahmednugger prince continued to hold it for his son, who was, as he contended, the rightful heir by adoption.

The eight 'puttâwuts' of Eedur were (with the exception of one, who was a Chohân) of Râthor blood, distinguished by the family names of Jodhâ, Châmpâwut, Koompâwut, and others, which marked their respective descent from Jodhâ, the founder of Jodhpoor, his brother, Châmpâ, his nephew, Koompo, or other members of the reigning family of Marwar. Their respective rank was strictly settled, and the honors assigned to each were carefully defined. The Koompâwut of Oondunee, the highest in rank, was preceded by a silver rod, and was allowed to sound the kettle-drums at the head of his train; he was entitled to recline in a litter, and to use the royal 'châmur,' or fan of horse-hair. His lands were free of all revenue payable to the head of the state; when he appeared in the presence, or retired from it, the Muhârâjâ rose from his cushion and embraced him, and his place in the court was the first on the right hand of the sovereign. Perhaps the most highly valued of his privileges, however, were two, which will doubtless appear strange ones to the European reader—he was entitled to wear a heavy anklet of gold, and to smoke a golden hookah in the royal presence. The noble of lowest rank, who

possessed, however, the most ample estates, was the Chohân of Mondeytee. He enjoyed the fewest privileges granted to any of his order—the kettle-drums, and the state-embrace of the Muhârâjâ.

Next in rank to the nobles of the first class was the Bârutjee, or royal bard, whose seat was in front of the Muhârâjâ's cushion, and who received the prince's salutation, both on entering and on retiring from the court.

There were other military vassals, who, holding lands in the districts (or zillahs) of the great nobles, were called 'Zil-'lâyuts.' Some of these were received by the Muhârâjâ on entering the presence, but no notice was taken by him of their departure. They maintained each of them a small number of horsemen, which never exceeded ten, and followed the noble of the zillah.

The revenue affairs of the state were conducted by a minister called Kârbhâree, or Deewân, usually a member of the commercial classes. Other relations, however, were entrusted to one of the Sirdârs, who bore the title of Prudhân, and whose constant presence with the Muhârâjâ was indispensable. No step could be taken by the prince, which affected one of the nobles, without the concurrence of the Prudhân, and a summons for attendance signed by the Muhârâjâ, but wanting the counter signature of this minister, would have been disregarded by the puttâwut, or even considered as evidence of a treacherous intention.

The Eedur territory, though open towards the west, was generally very capable of defence. It abounded in rivers, hills, and forests. The soil was fertile, and innumerable mango trees evinced that it had once been cultivated ; the greater portion was now, however, overgrown with jungle.

The Myhee Kântâ district contained also the Rajpoot principality of Loonâwârâ, of whose fortunes we possess unfortunately no record. It included, in addition, the territory of Dântâ and the possessions of numerous small chiefs (each of them leading from fifteen hundred to three thousand fighting men, and seated in the neighbourhood of fastnesses of very great strength), of whom the most considerable may be divided into four or five clusters. The Koolee chiefs of Umleeârâ,

Lohâr, and Neermâlee, with the Mukwânâ landholders of Mândoowâ, Poonâdurâ, and Kurâl, occupied an area of about fifteen miles in the neighbourhood of the river Wâtruk: a second cluster, of nine Koolee villages, lay on the Sâbhermutee in the pergunnah of Beejâpoor; immediately to the south of these were the Rajpoot estates of Wursorâ, Mânsâ, and Pethâpoor. The Koolees of the Kâkurej, near the Bunâs, and those of the Choonwâl, were estimated at the respective strength of eight thousand, and five thousand bowmen; but their country was not strong, and they had ceased to be troublesome to their neighbours.

The ruins of numerous and extensive castles, built by the Mohummedan monarchs with the view of checking the 'Mewâsees,' or refractory tribes, are still to be seen in unfrequented parts of the country. Such measures were probably not very effectual, even when the Moslem power was in full vigour, and in the decline of the Mogul empire the garrisons were withdrawn, and the country was abandoned to its turbulent inhabitants. The state of affairs was altered on the appearance of the Mahrattas, who, without building forts or attempting to assume the direct government, carried on their usual harassing inroads until they extorted a tribute, which they continued to increase as opportunity offered.

The Mahratta Moolukgeeree force,[1] in the Myhee Kântâ, used to canton during the rains wherever its presence seemed most required, and for the whole of the remaining eight months of the year it was constantly in motion. When the tribute was not paid on demand, a horseman, entitled to levy a fixed sum every day, called a Mohul, was despatched to the chief. In case this measure proved ineffectual the force moved to the chief's lands, when, if the presence of such undisciplined visitors, by its own inconvenience, failed to bring him to terms, they proceeded to cut down his crop, spoil his trees, and waste his lands. These measures were generally rendered necessary by the imposition of some addition to the tribute; but many villages also made it a point of honor not to pay unless a force came against them. In cases of extreme obstinacy in refusing tribute, or in committing or encouraging depredations, the

[1] [See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. vii (Baroda), chapter vii, *passim*.]

Guikowâr officer entered on open hostilities. He generally endeavoured, by a forced march, to surprise the Mewâsees in their villages, and seize their chief or their women. If he succeeded, the Mewâsees submitted; but if he failed, he 'struck' (that is to say, burned) the village, and the people, especially if they were Koolees, retired to the jungle, and set his attacks at defiance. The strongest Koolee villages were open on the side furthest from the river, and the only object of such defences as they erected on other points appeared to be to secure a retreat to the ravines. The facilities afforded by these recesses, whether for flight or concealment, inspired the Koolees with the greatest confidence, while the roads leading along the supposed ridges were by no means equally encouraging to the assailants. In such cases the Koolees, with their bows and matchlocks, would often keep the Guikowâr troops for a long time at bay. But if they were dislodged they scattered, and, by long and rapid marches, united again at a concerted point beyond the reach of their enemies. In the meantime they sometimes attempted night attacks on the camp, in which the suddenness of their onset often struck a panic into the undisciplined troops opposed to them; but they more frequently avoided the enemy, and annoyed him indirectly by the depredations they committed on the villages in which he was interested. In the meantime the Guikowâr chiefs endeavoured to obtain intelligence, and to cut up the Koolees or seize their families. They also tried by all means to prevent their receiving provisions, and otherwise punished all who supported them. If this plan were successful, the Koolees would subsist for a long time on the flowers of the Mowra tree, and on other esculent plants; but in time the bulk of their followers would fall off and return to their villages, while the chief, with the most determined of his adherents, remained in the jungle, and either was neglected or easily eluded the pursuit of the Mahrattas, until he could, by some compromise, or even by submission, effect his restoration to his village. There were many instances in which quarrels with the Koolees had terminated still less favorably to the Guikowâr. The village of Umleeârâ, though defended on one side only by a narrow strip of jungle and a hedge of dry thorns, stood a siege

of six months against a body of seven thousand men. The village was carried by assault; but a part of the Koolees rallied, and the besiegers fled with the greatest precipitation, leaving their guns and four of their principal leaders on the field. On another occasion the inhabitants of Lohâr, about one thousand strong, enticed a Guikowâr force of ten thousand men through a long defile into the bed of the Wâtruk, and, while a small party made a show of resistance on the opposite bank, an ambuscade started up, and opened fire on the rear in the defile. The whole army immediately took to flight, and Bâbâjee Âppâjee, who commanded it, with difficulty escaped by the swiftness of his horse.

When the affair was with Rajpoots these almost always defended their village; and that of Kurrorâ, situated among strong ravines, on the banks of the Sâbhermutee, once beat off several assaults of the Guikowâr troops, and compelled them to raise the siege. The Rajpoots sometimes, though rarely, hired foreign mercenaries, and often called in Koolees, but the Koolees never had recourse to the assistance of any other tribe.

The Mahratta power was at its highest in the Myhee Kântâ about the end of the eighteenth century, at the time when Shivrâm Gârdee,[1] the commandant of regular infantry, whose name has been already mentioned, was employed in the settlement of the province. The disorders of the Guikowâr government, subsequent to the death of Futteh Singh, did away with the effects of Shivrâm's successes; but about the year A.D. 1804, order was very effectually restored by Rughoonâth Myheeput Row (or Kâkâjee), the cousin of Rowjee Âppâjee, and although the Guikowâr troops had since then met with some reverses, they had never encountered any general spirit of resistance. The first interference of the British government

[1] [Shivrām Gārdi was an officer of Damājī Gaekwār, who commenced his *mulūkgiris* 1793–4, and became an expert in ascertaining the maximum sum which could be extorted. He enforced these enhanced tributes with much severity. He commanded 700 Hindustāni sepoys in the army of Malhārrāo, the Jāgīrdār of Kadi, who caused trouble in Baroda on the death of Govindrāo Gaekwār (1800), which was quelled by Major Walker (1802). See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. vii (Baroda) pp. 204–5, 317, and chapter iv, *supra*.]

in the affairs of the Myhee Kântâ took place in A.D. 1813, when Major Ballantine, following up the system which had been so ably introduced by Colonel Walker, entered into engagements, on the part of the Guikowâr, with all the tributary chiefs of the province. By some unaccountable mistake, however, those terms were never either conformed to or formally annulled. The Myhee Kântâ was, during the period that ensued, entrusted to Buchâ Jemâdâr, an officer of the Guikowâr government, who kept up a considerable force, and maintained the authority of the Mahrattas with some energy. He greatly increased the pecuniary payments of the chiefs, and he chastised such of them as went into open rebellion, but he was unsuccessful in preventing depredation, and loud and frequent complaints of the outrages of the Koolees were heard in the British districts. In A.D. 1818, the larger part of the Jemâdâr's force was called off on foreign service, and, afterwards, the whole of the Mahratta troops having been withdrawn, the province relapsed into nearly its former state of disorder. Three years afterwards the Myhee Kântâ was visited by Mr. Elphinstone, who then held the reins of government at Bombay, and, under his direction, a British agency was established in the province, with the general views of securing its tranquillity and of providing for the peaceful realization of the tribute possessed by the government of Baroda.[1]

[1] [See Elphinstone's minute on Mahī Kānthā, quoted in *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. v, Appendix A, p. 443.]

CHAPTER X

THE MUHÂRÂJÂS OF EEDUR—ÂNUND SINGH—SHIV SINGH—BHUWÂNEE SINGH—GUMBHEER SINGH

UJEET SINGH, say the Eedur bards, speaking of the Jodhpoor Raja of that name, was very famous. He placed seven shahzâdas on the throne, and unseated them again. In the end he placed Momud Shah[1] on the throne. For seven days Ujeet Singh's order was obeyed at Delhi, and five great rajas came to him for protection—those of Jeipoor, Jesulmer, Buhâwulpoor, Seerohee, and Sheekur. After placing the padishah on the throne, Ujeet Singh remained three years at Delhi, and then returned to Jodhpoor, leaving Koonwur Ubhye Singh, with five thousand horse, to serve the padishah. One day the padishah took Ubhye Singh with him for a sail upon the Jumna. When they reached the middle of the stream the padishah ordered the Koonwur to be thrown into the water. Ubhye Singh asked what was the reason. The padishah told him he must write to his brother, Wukhut Singh, to put his father to death. Ubhye Singh, upon this, caused Bhundâree Rughoonâth to write to Wukhut Singh, and tell him that he would give him Nâgor on condition of his at once putting Ujeet Singh to death. When the letter reached Wukhut Singh, he went in the middle of the night, and put his father to death.[2] The Rânees prepared to become sutees; they took with them Ubhye Singh's younger brothers—Ânund Singh, Râee Singh, and Kishor Singh—in order that their eyes might not be put out according to the Jodhpoor custom. The Jodhpoor Raja's place of cremation was at Mundowur. When the Rânees arrived at that place they made the Koonwurs over to the Sirdârs. Now Râee Singh and Ânund Singh were the sons of a Chohân Rânee, and Kishor Singh of a Bhâteeânee.

[1] [Muhammad Shâh was placed on the throne in 1719 by the Sayyids in succession to Farrukhsiyar. He was preceded by a number of phantom monarchs, who only reigned a few weeks.]

[2] See this story in detail in Tod's *Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, ii, 1028 ff.

They were entrusted to the care of the Chohân Sirdârs, Mân Singh and Deveedâs, and of Mân Singh's Koonwur, Jorâwur Singh. These Chohâns held the Roeechâ puttâ, the produce of which was one lakh: they abandoned it and went away with the Koonwurs, and halted at Châandelâ, fifteen kos east of Jodhpoor. Thâkor Mokum Singh, the puttâwut of Baroda in Marwar,—a puttâ of ten thousand rupees,—was ordered by Wukhut Singh to pursue them and slay them, or bring them back. He mounted, therefore, and proceeded with eight hundred horse to Chândelâ. The three chiefs, beholding his approach, girded up their loins, and seated themselves in council, their twelve hundred horse being encamped around them. Mokum Singh dismounted at their tent, and asked for the Koonwurs. Mân Singh said that they had been entrusted to him by the sutees, and that he now made them over in the same way to Mokum Singh. As he spoke these words he presented also a dagger, and said, 'If you intend to slay them do so now.' Mokum Singh said, 'Thâkor! you have done 'much that you have drawn me in along with you. Now, 'what befalls you must befall me.' The four chiefs retired together to a hill called Âdowâlo, in Marwar, and became outlaws. Their families were left at Kurneejee Mâtâ's, at a Chârun village called Desânot in Bikaner,—this Mâtâ being very powerful to protect those who fly to her for refuge.

Now before this time the Châmpâwut puttâwuts of Sunulâ, viz. Showâee Singh, Mân Singh, Pertâp Singh, and Jeewundâs, who held a puttâ of seventy thousand rupees, had had a quarrel with Raja Ujeet Singh, and their puttâ had been placed under attachment. They also had become outlaws, and were at this time at Âdowâlo, their families having been left at Kurneejee Mâtâ's. They had lately plundered a caravan of treasure passing from Ujmeer to the padishah at Delhi. When the Râj Koonwurs arrived at Âdowâlo, the Châmpâwuts made an offering of this treasure, and volunteered their services. Koonwur Ânund Singh accepted the offer, and at this time he made a promise to Mokum Singh Jodhâ, Mân Singh Chohân, and Pertâp Singh Châmpâwut, to the effect that if he obtained a kingdom he would confer a puttâ upon each of them, as they were faithful to their lord. From Âdowâlo the Koonwurs and

their partisans began to make forays upon Marwar, and it is still said of Mân Singh Chohân, in songs, that he churned Muroo-land as the Devs churned the ocean.

When Ubhye Singh, from fear of the padishah, wrote to Wukhut Singh to put his father to death, the padishah gave him the Eedur pergunnah as a present, and a deed with nine seals. A Brahmin, named Jugoojee, the Pooroheet or family priest of Ubhye Singh, while on his way from Delhi to Jodhpoor, was seized by the outlaws, and carried to Âdowâlo. He informed them of the grant of Eedur to Ubhye Singh, and swore to them that if they would permit him to go to Delhi he would bring the grant back with him. They agreed to the Brahmin's proposal, and he went to Ubhye Singh, and informed him that his brothers were plundering and distressing Marwar, suggesting that the grant of Eedur should be given to them instead of one of the twenty-two pergunnahs of Jodhpoor. Ubhye Singh gave him the grant, and he carried it to Âdowâlo.

At this time, Sumwut, 1785 (A. D. 1729),[1] Oodâwut Lâl

[1] The following is an extract from a report by Major Miles, then in political charge of the Myhee Kântâ, dated 21st September, 1821 :—

'In Sumwut, 1785, Ânund Singh and Râee Singh, two brothers of 'the Rajah of Jodhpoor, accompanied by a few horse from Vanoo and 'Pahlunpoor, and the Koolees of Gudwara, took possession of Eedur 'without much difficulty. They are said to have had an order from 'Delhi, but the truth seems to be that they were invited by the state 'of the country, and most likely assisted by the Marwar princes, who 'at that period held the Soubahdaree of Ahmedabad. Some years 'after, at the instigation of the Dessye above-mentioned (who had been 'placed in charge of Eedur after its capture by Morad Buksh), who 'appears to have been displaced by the Marwarees, an officer in the 'service of Damajee Guikowâr, named Buchajee Dewajee, was dis- 'patched, on the part of the Peshwah, to take possession of Eedur, 'which, assisted by the Rehwur Rajpoots, the servants of the late Row 'of Eedur, he did. Ânund Singh was killed in an engagement, fought 'for the recovery of Eedur, about Sumwut, 1809 (A. D. 1753), and Bucha- 'jee, after leaving a detachment there, returned to Ahmedabad. Râee 'Singh, however, collected a force, and again obtained possession of 'Eedur. He died in Sumwut, 1822 (A. D. 1766). Shiv Singh succeeded 'his father Ânund Singh, and is said to have governed about forty years. 'Shiv Singh had five sons—Bhowanee Singh (or Laljee), who succeeded 'him ; Sungram Singh, who received the puttah of Ahmednugger ; 'Jalum Singh, of Morassa ; Indur Singh (no puttah) ; and Umur

Singh, who served the Nowaub of Borsud with three hundred horse, was on his way to Marwar on leave, and, arriving at Eedur, pitched his tents by the Rumulesur tank. It was then that the Desâees came to visit him, and offered to make him master of Eedur. Lâl Singh said that the padishah had granted Eedur to Muhârâjâ Ubhye Singh, and that he could not himself take it, but that he would bring Ânund Singh and the other brothers of the Muhârâjâ who were in outlawry. This being agreed to by the Desâees, Lâl Singh went to Âdowâlo, and related what had passed. The Râj Koonwurs had, in the meantime, been joined by Jethâwut Uderâmjee and Koompâwut Umur Singh, they now set out at the head of about five thousand horse, and proceeded to the pass of Roherâ, leading from the Seerohee country into the province of Eedur. The Wâghela Thâkor of Poseenâ, a puttâwut of the Row's,[1] however, blocked up the pass, and would not permit the Râj Koonwurs to advance, for the Rowjee had, by no means, abandoned his claim to the possession of Eedur. At length it was arranged that Ânund Singh should marry the Thâkor's daughter, and that that chief should have twelve villages in addition to those which he held of the Row of Pol. The villages of the Dhunâl estate were, accordingly, made over to the Thâkor, and his daughter was married to Ânund Singh, and the army, thereupon, advanced to Poseenâ. To this place the Râj Koonwurs invited the Desâees, and, on their arrival, an arrangement was concluded, and the force advanced to Eedur, which place they entered on the seventh of the light half of Phâlgoon, Sumwut, 1787 (A.D. 1731), the same year in which Muhârâjâ Ubhye Singh came to Ahmedabad. Ubhye Singh was afterwards on good terms with the Eedur Muhârâjâs, and not only procured for them the grant from Delhi, but also put them in possession of the pergunnahs

'Singh, of Gorewara. Bhowanee Singh governed only one month after 'the death of his father, and was succeeded by his son, Gumbheer 'Singh, the present raja, in Sumwut, 1849 (A. D. 1793); Gumheer 'Singh has one son, named Oomed Singh, or Laljee, who is about 'twenty years of age.'

[1] [This is Bacha Pandit, Rão of Idar, whose life is related in book ii, chapter x, *supra*. The reader should refer back to that chapter to pick up the thread of the narrative.]

of Beejâpoor and Poorântej. As long as Ubhye Singh remained, Eedur had no jummâ (tribute) to pay to Ahmedabad.[1]

Two years after Muhârâjâ Ânund Singh's arrival at Eedur the Nowaub of Borsud fled to him for shelter, in consequence of a rebellion of his brothers.[2] The Muhârâjâ, having asked advice of his Sirdârs, sent his two brothers accompanied by

[1] We do not know how this statement is to be reconciled with the following letter, quoted by Colonel Tod (*Rajasthan*, vol. iii, 1828 f.) :—

'*Letter from Raja Jey Sing, of Amber, to Rana Singram Sing, of* '*Mewar, regarding Edur.*

'SRI RAMJI.

'SRI SEETA RAMJI.

'When I was in the presence, at Oodipoor, you commanded that 'Mewar was my home, and that Edur was the portico of Mewar, and to 'watch the occasion for obtaining it. From that time I have been on 'the look out. Your agent, Myaram, has again written regarding it, 'and Dilput Raee read the letter to me verbatim, on which I talked 'over the matter with Muharaja Abhe Sing, who, acquiescing in all your 'views, has made a *nuzzur* of the pergunnah to you—and his writing 'to this effect accompanies this letter.

'The Muharaja Abhe Sing petitions that you will so manage, *that the* '*occupant, Anund Sing, does not escape alive, as, without his death, your* '*possession will be unstable*—this is in your hands. It is my wish, also, 'that you would go in person, or, if you deem this inexpedient, command 'the Dhabhaee Nuggo, placing a respectable force under his orders, 'and, having blocked up all the passes, you may then slay him. Above 'all things let him not escape,—let this be guarded against.

'Asar badi, 7th S., 1784 (A. D. 1728).

'*Envelope*

'The Pergunnah of Edur is in Muharaja Abhe Sing's jagheer, who 'makes a nuzzur of it to the Huzoor; should it be granted to any 'other, take care the Munsubdar never gains possession. 8th S., 1784.'

On the margin is written, according to custom, in the raja's own hand—

'Let my respects be known. When, in the Dewan's presence, he 'ordered that Edur was the portico and Chuppun the vestibule to Mewar, 'and that it was necessary to obtain it. I have kept this in mind, and, 'by the Sri Dewanjee's fortune, it is accomplished.'

[2] [The bardic narratives do not mention several important events. In 1734 Idar was attacked by Javān Mard Khān, but Ānandsingh beat off the invader with the help of Malhār Rāo Holkar and Rānoji Sindia, who were in Mālwā at the time. In 1741, Rāisingh, a year before his death, concluded an alliance with Momin Khān, Viceroy of Gujarāt.]

Châmpâwuts Showâee Singh, and Pertâp Singh, Jodhâ Mokum Singh, Jethâwut Uderâmjee, Châmpâwut Jeewundâs, and Koonwur Jorâwur Singh, with a force about two thousand strong, against Borsud. There was a great fight there, and cannon were fired from the fort, so that for ten days it could not be taken. At length the Borsud Kârbâree came over, and opened the gates of the fort. Koonwur Jorâwur Singh received two or three sword wounds during the siege, and fifty of the Marwarees fell, with about as many on the other side. The Nowaub, when he was replaced on the royal cushion, said to Muhârâjâ Râee Singh, 'Stay with me until I am firmly settled.' Râee Singh, therefore, remained for eight months.

At this time the Rowjee assembled his Sirdârs, the Rehwurs, the Thâkor Udesingh, of Runâsun, the Thâkors of Monpoor, Surdohee, Roopâl, and Ghorewârâ, and all the Bhoomeeâs around, with the exception of the Wâghela of Poseenâ. The Sirdârs said they would go and fight for the Row, and take Eedur if they could. They advanced to Deshotur, where there were five hundred houses of Dâbhee Râjpoots, and from thence to Eedur. At this time the Mohummedan Kusbâtees were very strong in Eedur; they were divided into two branches, called Naiqs and Bhâtees (in all about fifteen hundred houses), and to them the gates and batteries of Eedur were entrusted. The Rowjee's puttâwuts gained over the Kusbâtees, and took the town of Eedur. Muhârâjâ Ânund Singh had been left with only two Sirdârs, Koompâwut Umur Singh and Chohân Devee Singh; he retired with these Sirdârs and his zenana into the fortress on the hill, but being in danger even here he sent out the ladies under the Sirdârs' protection by a postern gate, and himself left the fort by the main gate which overlooks the town, and went on in the hope of joining the zenana. The Muhârâjâ had but few horsemen with him, and even these were scattered. At this time he perceived a body of Rehwur horse approaching, and immediately gave orders that his royal drum should be sounded to call together his followers. The nobut-beater[1] remonstrated,

[1] The 'nobut' is the royal drum. [For the Naubat at the court of the Mughal emperors see *Āīn-i-Akbarī*, trans. Blochmann, i, 51.]

saying that the Rehwurs would come up if the drum were sounded, but that the Muhârâjâ's horsemen were too far off. Ânund Singh repeated his order, in an angry tone, and the drum was immediately sounded. The Rehwur horse galloped up, and overtook his scanty following, and a fight ensued. On the Muhârâjâ's side, Chohân Devee Singh first went down; then Koompâwut Umur Singh was wounded. Râmdân, the nobut-beater, was slain. The Muhârâjâ's horse was killed under him, and at length he himself was slain. A few only of his followers escaped, and the Rehwurs took the fort of Eedur.

Many arrows flew, many swords moved,
Great companies of elephants met each other
When Ânund Muhârâj, at Eedur-gurh, wedded the Upsurâ.
Of the Bride-groom's party, the leader was Deveedân Mâmo.
The claims of all, he paid with blows redoubled.
Indrâ-like was Ujmâl, the bridegroom.
His best-man was the son of Phut Mâl.
Instead of a marriage-song, they had the roar of battle.
Valiantly advancing, they pushed back their enemies,
Like elephants in rut, swaying from side to side,
Did the Kumud and the Muchureek strike down their foes.
The fort-lords, Mâmo and Bhâneej, passed to Paradise,
For them had ceased the toil of being born in the womb.
Him who, in front advancing, fell, I praise—the Chohân ! [1]

The Sonuggeree and the Wâghelee, Rânees of Muhârâjâ Ânund Singh, retired to the Seerohee village of Roherâ, and there became sutees. A slave-girl also burned herself with them. Their chutrees may still be seen at Roherâ.

When the matter was made known to Muhârâjâ Râee Singh, at Borsud, he prepared to advance upon Eedur. He took up his ground first at Mooneyoo, where he remained four months, plundering the Eedur country, without finding any opportunity of attacking Eedur-gurh. At length he sent Keshree Singh, of Beejâpoor, and Unop Singh, of Dâwud, two Bhârots, and planned with them to seduce the Sâbher Kântâ chiefs who were on the Row's side. The Bhârots, accordingly, made

[1] [*Mâmo* and *Bhâneej* mean *mother's brother* and *sister's son*. *Ujmâl* is Ânund Singh. *The son of Phut Mâl* is Devee Singh. *Kumdhuj*, or *Kumud*, is a title of the Râthor clan, as is *Muchureek* of the Chohân. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed 1920, ii. 930, 1001.]

an arrangement with these chiefs that when the fight began they should fire in the air. Râee Singh now advanced from Mooneyoo to Bârolee, where he found himself at the head of ten thousand men. The Naiq and Bhâtee Kusbâtees were also seduced by promises of puttâs and jâgheers, to desert the Row, though they still protested to him that they would defend the town. Râee Singh now advanced against Eedur, and surrounded the town with his troops. He himself, with Mân Sing Chohân, Koonwur Jorâwur Singh, Jodhâ Mokum Singh, and the Châmpawuts Pertâp Singh, Showâee Singh, Mân Singh, and Jeewundâs, ascended the hill called 'Mudâr Shâ's toonk,' which overlooks Eedur, and from thence descended into the town, which the Kusbâtees rendered without resistance. The Sirdârs asked the Muhârâjâ what was to be done next; he said, 'Ask Mâmâ Mân Singh, who is the leader of 'the army.' Mân Singh advised that they should kill the Kusbâtees, and enjoy a thornless râj. The Marwarees, therefore, attacked them, and killed about a thousand; they next attacked the fort, which they took, killing some of the Rehwurs. The Rowjee now escaped to Pol, and the Rehwurs went home to their own estates, having held possession of Eedur for about eight months in all.

Ânund Singh Muhârâjâ had left a son, Shiv Singh, who was six years of age. Râee Singh placed him on the throne, and began to act as his minister.

After this, Muhârâjâ Râee Singh attacked Ude Singh Rehwur, the Thâkor of Runâsun. As he advanced, a Bheel, who met his cavalcade, mentioned that the Thâkor had died, and that his son had taken his seat on the cushion. The Muhârâjâ, when he heard this, was so much enraged at his enemy's having died a natural death, instead of having been slain by him, that he shot the bearer of the tidings dead with an arrow. He proceeded, however, to Runâsun, and surrounded the town. The young Thâkor fled to Loonâwârâ, the Solunkhee of which place had married his sister. The Muhârâjâ remained a month and a half at Runâsun, and then retired, having made the twenty-four villages of the estate 'khâlsâ,' or crown-land, and placed a garrison there, under Koombho Bhâtee. Runâsun remained subject to Eedur for

five years, and then, in consequence of the continual incursions of the Rehwurs, it was given back to them, twelve villages, of which Deshotur was the principal, being, however, retained as khâlsâ lands.

The following song relates to the contest which took place at this time between the Rehwurs and Râthors :—

Night or day, the sound of the war drum ceases not,
But the Jodhâs are not lessened in number ;
Daily, with its elephants, an army advances,
The feud with the Marwarees has no termination
All day long they seek the field,
They fight, they charge, they mount, they fall ;
Without a warrior's death no evening comes ;
When many fall, then fall the shades of evening.
On both sides, like roaring floods, rush on the armies ;
Great is the noise of broken trees, of armor broken.
Ah ! when will Kâlo[1] cause this calamity to cease,
This dust-storm in the land of Eedur ?
Shall I praise the arms, or praise the wearers ?
Shall I praise the Sirdârs, or praise the followers ?
Is Rehwur good, or is Râthor good ?
Awe strikes the beholder as each chief charges on,
And though the Sirdâr fall, the followers continue the battle
Yet falls not Eedur-land into the power of either.

Râee Singh now placed Shiv Singh at Eedur, and took up his own residence at Morâsâ, where he built a mansion and accommodation for his zenana. Five years afterwards a Mahratta army, led by the wife of Junkojee, came from Poonah to Morâsâ, and demanded tribute. The Mahrattas were about fifteen thousand in number, yet tribute was refused by Râee Singh. The lady who led the army sent, it is said, to Muhârâjâ Râee Singh and requested that he would visit her, as she had heard that he was very handsome, and was disposed to remit the tribute. Râee Singh said, that if he was not handsome, he was a good archer, and asked the messenger, in sport, whether he thought an arrow would go through the buffalo and water bags of a Mahratta water carrier who was passing at the time under the walls of the fort. He drew his bow, and the arrow passed through both the animal and the bags. The water carrier went off immediately to his friends, and com-

[1] Krishn.

plained bitterly, and the Mahrattas immediately attacked with their whole force. The garrison, which consisted of only one hundred and fifty Marwarees, fought till they were all slain, but Râee Singh, placing his wife on his horse behind him, and winding a scarf round her so as to fasten her to himself, galloped off to Râeegurh, a fort which he had constructed upon a hill near the khâlsâ village of Unghâr, and which contained a garrison of two hundred horse and foot. He remained there two or three days, and then went on to Eedur.

When the Mahrattas took Morâsâ, the Châmpâwut Jeewundâs fell, and his brother, Pertâp Singh, was left on the field wounded. The Mahrattas, supposing that the latter was the Muhârâjâ Râee Singh himself, put him into a litter, and carried him off to Ahmedabad, where they placed him in confinement. Shortly afterwards, they proposed to ransom him for eighty thousand rupees, and this sum was taken out of the Eedur treasury, and dispatched upon camels towards Ahmedabad, but, when the escort reached Pethâpoor on its way, the Thâkor himself, who had managed to effect his escape, met them, and the money was brought back to Eedur. Râee Singh then said that the treasure had been taken out for the use of Pertâp Singh, and that the Thâkor should keep it. Pertâp Singh declined, urging that he had no need of money, when the Muhârâjâ provided so well for him. The Sirdârs, at length, arranged that half that sum should be given to Pertâp Singh, and half replaced in the treasury.

In the year 1797 (A.D. 1741), says the bard, the Muhârâjâ granted 'puttâs'[1] to his followers. Mondeytee was given to Mân Singh Chohân, Chândunee to Châmpâwut Showâee Singh, Mhow to Châmpâwut Pertâp Singh, Gântheeol to Jethâwut Uderâmjee, Teentoee to Koompâwut Umur Singh, Wudeeâvee to Koompâwut Bâdur Singh, Merâsun to Jodhâ Indra Singh, and Bhânpoor to Oodâwut Lâl Singh. At this time Râee Singh and Shiv Singh were seated together upon the cushion of Eedur. The Sirdârs, however, considered that two swords could not be contained in one scabbard, and that some day treachery would be perpetrated. They assembled at the

[1] [Patta, a 'patent, grant' (Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i, 190.]

Chohân's mansion to deliberate as to how the Muhârâjâs could be separated, Shiv Singh having now attained the age of about eleven years. Koompâwut Umur Singh was at length deputed by them to Muhârâjâ Râee Singh. He said, 'Muhârâj! if you will pardon me, I will speak.' Râee Singh replied, 'Say on.' 'All say,' continued the Thâkor, 'that one scabbard cannot contain two swords, nor one throne 'afford room for two rajas.[1] Your highness should therefore 'proceed to some other place.' Râee Singh said, 'No one 'but yourself has mentioned anything of this kind to me, 'therefore both of us must leave the Eedur territory.' Râee Singh accordingly retired to Râee-gurh, and Umur Singh went off to Marwar, his puttâ of Teentoee being assigned to Châmpâwut Mân Singh.

Râee Singh Muhârâjâ left no son, but he had a daughter Bâee Eejun Koonwuree who was married to Mâdhuv Singh, Raja of Jeipoor.

Umur Singh was not successful in his attempt at obtaining a puttâ in Marwar, and he therefore returned, six years afterwards, to Eedur, and was presented with the estate of Muneeol. He had two sons, Sher Singh, and Dheerut Singh, who served the Muhârâjâ Shiv Singh so well that he assigned to them the puttâs of Kookreeoo and Oondunee. Muhârâjâ Shiv Singh made also other grants. To Futteh Singh and Khomân

[1] 'You must not,' say the Dutch, 'have two mainmasts in one vessel:' —'Une nation se peint dans son langage, principalement dans ses 'expressions proverbiales; celles de la langue française, en partie prises 'de la chevalerie, indiquent l'époque qui contribua en France à former 'cette politesse exquise, cette urbanité délicate, cette émulation de 'grandeur et de générosité, dont il est resté quelque chose dans nos 'romans; celles de la langue hollandaise montrent visiblement que le 'commerce et la navigation ont toujours été les occupations principales 'des Bataves, et que l'économie, chez ce peuple industrieux, a été de 'tout temps la première des vertus.

'Le Hollandais veut-il faire entendre qu'il ne faut qu'un seul maître 'dans une maison, il a recours à cette figure: "Il ne faut pas qu'il y 'ait deux grands mâts dans un vaisseau.'

'S'il veut faire connaître que ceux qui n'ont pas la charge ou la 'conduite, de quelque affaire, pretendent souvent en raisonner mieux 'que les personnes à qui on l'a confiée, il fait encore usage d'une figure 'prise dans ses habitudes, en disant: "Les meilleurs pilotes sont ordi- 'nairement à terre."'—*Description of the United States of the Netherlands.*

Singh, the grandsons of Châmpâwut Pertâp Singh, he gave the estates of Mhow and Wânkâner, and he gave land to several other Rajpoots, who became zillâyuts of one or other of the Sirdârs.

When the Guikowâr army, under Âppâ Sâhib, with the Rowjee, the Rehwurs, and others, in St. 1844–5 (A. D. 1788–9), or thereabouts, came into the Eedur country, and began to kill and plunder, the Sirdârs retreated with their families to the hills. They all assembled at length at the 'Ghoonwâ' hill, which lies between Dântâ and Poseenâ, and is accessible only by a narrow pass, from whence they made night attacks upon the Guikowâr army, slaying and plundering. The army then came against the 'Ghoonwâ,' upon which the Sirdârs fled to Pânowrâ, in Mewar, to the north of Eedur. The Mahrattas advanced upon Mondeytee, and plundered and burnt all the villages of that district, as well as many villages of Poseenâ, Mhow, Chândunee, and other districts. At length they advanced upon Eedur, against Muhârâjâ Shiv Singh, and encamped at the Rumulesur tank. They sent to the Muhârâjâ to say that if he did not come in to a conference, without loss of time, they would destroy Eedur. Upon this, Shiv Singh, with his five Koonwurs, went into their camp. The commander of the Mahrattas now demanded that the Muhârâjâ should sign a deed, passing half his country to them, on pain of the territory being laid waste. The pretence which they made for this claim was, that Shiv Singh represented Ânund Singh Muhârâjâ only and that the share of Muhârâjâ Râee Singh, who had died without offspring, was theirs, the territory of Eedur having been taken possession of by these two princes jointly. The Muhârâjâ when he heard these demands made humble submission, but without effect. The Mahratta leader threatened to seize him and place a garrison of his own in Eedur. Then the Muhârâjâ, in his trepidation, said, 'To 'pass a deed for the territory is not in my hands, it is in the 'hands of the Sirdârs. It is a kingdom acquired by their 'means that I rule over.' The Pundit demanded that the Muhârâjâ should summon his Sirdârs. Shiv Singh answered, 'They will not come at my summons, besides you have laid 'waste their villages, and they, too, have done some harm

'to you—how, then, can they come in?' The Mahratta officer then gave security, and the Muhârâjâ also wrote private letters to the Sirdârs, saying 'If you do not come in 'I shall be made prisoner.' Upon this all the Sirdars came in, with the exception of Soorujmul, the Thâkor of Chândunee, who went off to his own village with his followers, numbering a hundred horse and two hundred foot. When they arrived the Pundit threatened them very much, and compelled them to pass a deed for Râee Singh's share. The Muhârâjâ signed first, and then seven Sirdârs subscribed the deed.

This affair completed, the seven Sirdârs said, 'When 'Soorujmul signs then our signatures are to hold good, but 'not till then.' The Pundit said, 'Send for him.' A horseman of the Muhârâjâ's and one of the Mahratta leaders were then sent to offer the security of Jân Mohummed, an Arab Jemâdâr, and Soorujmul soon after came in with a hundred and twenty horse. The Pundit received him courteously in his own tent, seated him beside himself, and then gave him the document that he might affix his signature, as the other Sirdârs had done. Soorujmul had no sooner read it, however, than he tore it up, saying, 'The Muhârâjâ is lord of the pât (throne), but I am lord of the thâth' (district, lit. building). He said to the Jemâdâr, 'You must conduct me 'back to Chândunee,' and, immediately rising, went off home. The Mahratta leader was very much enraged and threatened the Muhârâjâ and the Sirdârs, but they protested that there was no fault of theirs, they had signed the deed. The Pundit then demanded that they should accompany him to attack Chândunee, to which all assented. Batteries were thrown up before Chândunee, and the attack was continued for the whole of one day, the Muhârâjâ and Sirdârs apparently taking part with the Mahrattas, though in heart they were with Soorujmul. In the night Soorujmul fled to the hills, and the Mahrattas plundered and burnt the town. They remained in that place for four days, during which time Soorujmul fell upon them when occasion offered, slew ten or twelve men, and carried off fourteen horses. The army struck its camp before Chândunee, and moved to Sâmbulee. There, too, Soorujmul fell upon them in the night time, and slew, among others, the Arab

officer who commanded the artillery while he was making his bread and singing, 'tân-a, tân-a, tân-a.' The Muhârâjâ then said to the leader of the Mahrattas that this Rajpoot was a dangerous fellow, and there was no saying whom he might slay, and that if the army retired he would send the sum of money which had been agreed upon. A bond for twenty thousand rupees was then drawn up and signed, the Mahrattas retired, and the Muhârâjâ returned to Eedur. He sent immediately for Soorujmul and begged him to restore his village, and presented him with four thousand rupees to rebuild his mansion. Soorujmul did so, but after this he became full of pride on account of his valor, and used to say, 'There is no strength in either Muhârâjâ or Sirdârs. It was 'I alone that preserved the throne of Eedur.'

When the Mahrattas retired, they left garrisons at Ahmednugger, Morâsâ, and other places. The Sirdârs drove out most of these posts, but in some places they held their ground, and in these the Peshwah acquired a half-share.

Now when Châmpâwut Soorujmul came to Eedur, the people had to make the roads clear for him, otherwise he threatened them. A nobut-beater of the durbâr's on one of these occasions, having offended him by committing a nuisance on the public road, Soorujmul seized him, and, tying a rope round his ankle, ducked him in a pond, lowering him and pulling him out until he died. At this time Muhârâjâ Shiv Singh was old and infirm, and a great friendship existed between the prince Bhuwânee Singh and Soorujmul. On one occasion Soorujmul made a feast at Châandunee, and invited the prince; they were seated together in the durbâr, when one of the prince's attendants, a Bhojuk Brahmin, happened to spit on the floor. Soorujmul was in a fury, and ordered the Bhojuk to lick up the spittle with his tongue. The Bhojuk said, 'I have done wrong, but now I will wipe it up with 'my clothes.' Soorujmul, notwithstanding, insisted upon being obeyed. Then the Muhârâj-Koomâr said, 'He has done 'wrong, therefore, if you please, I will wipe it up with my 'own shawl.' Still Soorujmul insisted, 'He shall lick it up 'with that very tongue.' Then the prince was angry, and getting up he went away. Returning to Eedur, he related

the whole story to the Muhârâjâ, and said, 'There is such 'pride in this Sirdâr that he defies all authority.' The Muhârâjâ heard, but made no answer. The prince, however, kept his anger in his heart.

The affair appeared to have been forgotten, and the Muhârâj-Koomâr sent to invite Soorujmul to a feast. He took him up to Eedur-gurh to inspect the fort, and brought him at length to the 'palace of the mourning queen,'[1] where he slew him with the sword. The Thâkor, however, was a great loss to the Eedur state, as the verse says :—

The Châmpâwut, with treachery,
Had not the Nurend slain,
Goojur-land, his property
Soojo Kumdhuj had made.

After his death, Soorujmul became a Bhoot, and occasioned great trouble for a long time.

Soorujmul's Koonwur, Subul Singh, hearing the news, fled away in alarm, and 'went out.' However, he was brought round, and induced to return, but the twelve villages of Hursol were taken from him. Mân Singh, of Mondeytee, was succeeded by his son, Koonwur Jorâwur Singh. He left also a younger son, Rughoonâth, to whom was given the estate of Gotâ, which he left to his son, Soorut Singh.

The Muhârâj-Koomâr, Bhuwânee Singh, made an attempt to take the Gotâ estate from Soorut Singh, because, as he declared, too many villages had been given to puttâwuts, and few remained khâlsâ. He sent to Soorut Singh, demanding that he should give up one or two of his villages. This demand, however, did not please Muhârâjâ Shiv Singh, but he was afraid of the prince, and did not say much to him. Soorut Singh replied to the demand by 'going out.' He carried his family to Jowâs and Puhâdun, villages of Mewar to the north-east of Pâl, and made incursions upon the Eedur country, seizing cultivators and village traders, from whom he exacted ransom, and carrying off cattle. On one occasion he attacked

[1] [See vol. i, p. 291, *supra*. *Ruthi Ranīno Mahâll* means the Palace of the *Angry* Queen. The allusion is to the Rānī of Rāo Nārāyanji, who was driven from Idar by Akbar in 1576. She lived here apart from her husband, who had insulted her.]

Brumh Kheir, which contained a garrison of Eedur troops, one hundred in number, horse and foot. There was a great fight there. Afterwards a body of the merchants of Eedur, proceeding on pilgrimage to the temple of Rishub Dev, in the Sâdree Pass with an escort of twenty-five Koolees, halted at the village of Thânâ. Soorut Singh visited them, and asked what need they had of so large an escort. They answered that his being 'out' was the reason. Soorut Singh said they need not be apprehensive of him, for Eedur was his mother, and he would not snatch at her scarf. He then accompanied them to the place of pilgrimage, and guarded them on the way home again. The merchants, when they reached Eedur, told the Muhârâjâ and the prince that Soorut Singh protected the people of the town of Eedur, and should, therefore, be called in. However, the prince did not receive this advice. The Muhârâjâ then, without the prince's knowledge, wrote to Soorut Singh, and said that Chooreewâr was his cook-room village, and that if the Thâkor struck it he would fast, and thus compel the prince to call Soorut Singh in. The Thâkor upon this assembled his men, and plundered Chooreewâr, which he burned, carrying off both prisoners and cattle. When the report of this event reached Eedur, the Muhârâjâ began to abstain from food. The prince immediately called in Soorut Singh, giving him an Uteet of Eedur for his security. When the Thâkor arrived, the prince was very much enraged with him, and demanded his reason for doing so much mischief. Soorut Singh showed him the Muhârâjâ's letter. When the prince spoke to the Muhârâjâ about the matter, Shiv Singh was ashamed, and the enmity which already existed between father and son was augmented. The durbâr said to Soorut Singh, 'Why should you have exhibited a letter that I wrote 'to you for your own good? I think your death must be near 'at hand as your intellect is thus turned.' Soorut Singh now got back his estate, but he died six months afterwards in 1841 (A.D. 1785). He was succeeded by his son, Ude Singh.

On the death of Dolut Singh, the grandson of Jorâwur Singh, of Mondeytee, without offspring, Ude Singh succeeded also to the larger puttâ of Mondeytee.

In the year 1848 (A.D. 1792), Muhârâjâ Shiv Singh became

a Dev.[1] Twelve days afterwards his son, Bhuwânee Singh, also died, in the thirty-sixth year of his age. Bhuwânee Singh Muhârâjâ, was succeeded by his son, Gumbheer Singh, who was born in 1835 (A. D. 1779). The younger brothers of Bhuwânee Singh, were Jhâlum Singh, Sugrâm Singh, Umur Singh, and Indra Singh. Jhâlum Singh had the management of affairs during the minority of Gumbheer Singh. After a time, however, the Sirdârs assembled at the mansion of the Châmpâwuts, with Bhârot Mohobut, of Veejâpoor, who was then the Deewân, and came to the resolution that, as two swords could not be contained in one scabbard, it was right that Jhâlum Singh should not sit upon the cushion, but beside it. Jhâlum Singh asked what course was left open for him to take. The Sirdârs said that he was a prince, and knew the customs. Upon this, Jhâlum Singh and his brothers, Sugrâm Singh and Umur Singh, retired with their followers, and took possession of Morâsâ, Ahmednugger, and Bâyur, without receiving any grants from the Muhârâjâ. Indra Singh, who was blind, remained at home, and to him was assigned the estate of Soor.

Sugrâm Singh was succeeded by Kurun Singh, and he by Tukhut Singh, the present Muhârâjâ of Jodhpoor.

Indra Sing left four sons, who are still living. Jhâlum Singh and Umur Singh died without offspring.

When Gumbheer Singh Muhârâjâ was eighteen years old, he said that the three brothers should take two pergunnahs between them, and to enforce this determination he prepared an army, and advanced to Hinglâz, on the road to Ahmednugger. Jhâlum Singh and Sugrâm Singh joined in opposing

[1] The following inscriptions supply authentic dates of the Muhârâjâs of Eedur:—

1. On a Jain funeral monument near Eedur, 'Sumwut, 1840 (A.D. 1784), 'Shree Muhârâj Âdheerâj, Muhârâj Shree Shiv Singhjee, &c.'

2. On the well of Wujur Mâtâ, in Eedur-gurh, 'Praise to Shree 'Gunesh! Shree Râmjee! In Sumwut, 1847 (A. D. 1791), Phalgoon 'shood 5, Wednesday, Shree Shree Shree 108. Shree Muhârâj Âdheerâj 'Shree Shree Shree Shiv Singhjee, Shree Muhârâj Koonwur, Shree Bhuwânee Singhjee caused this well to be constructed, &c.'

3. On another Jain monument near Eedur, 'Sumwut, 1859 (A. D. 1803), 'Shree Muhârâj Âdheerâj, Muhârâj Shree Gumbheer Singhjee, &c.'

the Muhárâjâ, and a battle was fought, in which, as both sides were provided with cannon, many fell on either part. They were separated by the evening. The next day, the Châmpáwut, Jodhâ, and Chohân Sirdârs came up and joined the Muhârâjâ, and a demand was sent to the enemy for the surrender of Ahmednugger. At this time, Bhowân Singh, of Teentoee, in discharging a pistol which had been kept loaded for a long time, and would not go off without more powder, blew off his hand. The Muhârâjâ received this as a bad omen, and, giving up his expedition, returned to Eedur. Bhowân Singh was carried away in the direction of Teentoee, but died on the road, at Bhuvnâth Muhâ Dev, near Mhow.

After this, Jhâlum Singh, of Morâsâ, began to encroach upon the villages around him belonging to the Thâkor of Umleeârâ, the Râthor of Mâlpoor, and the Rehwurs of Monpoor and Surdohee. His army consisted of Marwarees and others. In an attack upon Mâlpoor, about A.D. 1799, Jhâlum Singh Muhârâjâ had five thousand men to oppose to eight hundred of the Râthor's. The struggle continued for three days, and, at last, Mâlpoor was taken, and the Râwul slain. The Muhârâjâ garrisoned Mâlpoor, but the young Râwul Tukhut Singh, having gone out, and created much distress by burning the villages of the Morâsâ estate, it was at length agreed that Mâlpoor should pay the Muhârâjâ a sulâmee of six hundred rupees yearly, and Mugoree one of five hundred rupees, and the Râwul Tukhut Singh recovered his villages.

About the year 1864 (A. D. 1808), Shumsher Khân, of Pâhlunpoor, having had a quarrel with his brother, the Deewân, left home in anger, and came to Eedur. The Muhârâjâ pointed out to him, for his residence, his village of Châmpulpoor, in the Poseenâ district, and Shumsher Khân went thither to reside. Peer Khânjee, of Pâhlunpoor, upon this, wrote to the Muhârâjâ, and said, 'You must not entertain 'my brother.' No attention having been paid to this demand, the Pâhlunpoor army advanced into Gudwârâ, and took possession of that district, placing in it a force of occupation. The Muhârâjâ thereupon assembled his troops, and driving out the Pâhlunpoor force, sat down in the Deewân's village of Sheeshrânoo, and sent thence to Peer Khânjee to say, 'If it



TEMPLE OF MUHÂ DEV IN THE MYHEE KANTA

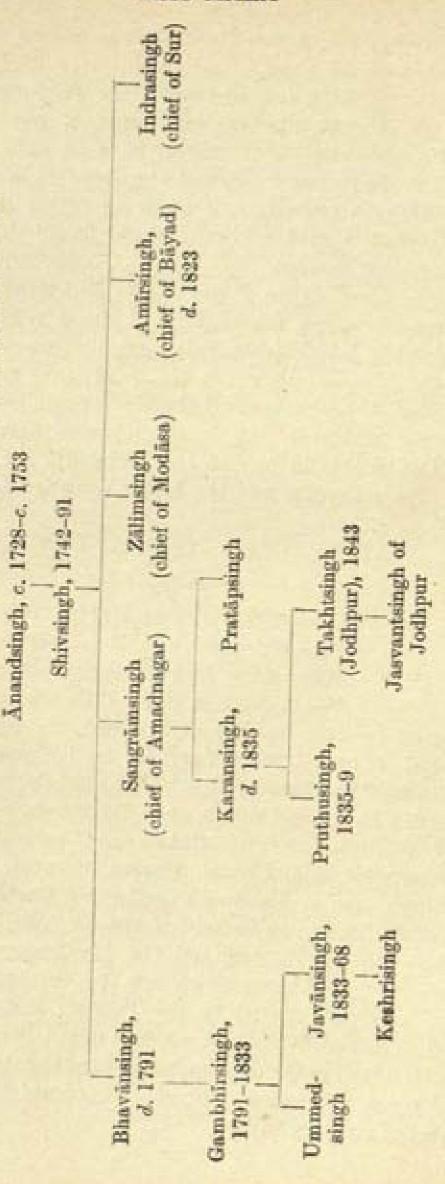
'be your intention to fight, I will wait here for you.' As Peer Khânjee showed no signs of advancing, the Muhârâjâ began to talk about striking one or two of the Pâhlunpoor villages, in return for the occupation of Gudwârâ, but Koompâwut Nâr Singh, who was the Prudhân at that time, said, 'Muhârâjâ! we have come beyond the frontier of Pâhlunpoor, 'and the victory, therefore, is ours. Striking these villages, 'as you propose, would only extend the feud.' The Muhârâjâ assented to this advice, and turning back, advanced upon Dântâ, from which Rânâ Jugut Singh fled to the hills. The Eedur force plundered the villages of Nowâ Wâs and Bhemâl (from which the inhabitants fled), and, finding crops of sugarcane on the ground, they cut the cane, and made huts for themselves of it, and remained there a month, living upon the neighbouring villages. At length it was agreed that the Rânâ of Dântâ should pay to the Muhârâjâ a tribute of five hundred rupees a-year, and the latter returned to Eedur.

APPENDICES TO CHAPTER X

I. IDAR

[From 800–970 Idar was under Gahlot rule, then, after a short period of Bhīl independence, it passed to the Parmāra Rājputs (1000–1200). The last Parmāra, Amar Singh, left it to his servant Hathi Sord, a Koli. His son, Samalio Sood, was deposed by Rāo Sonang of Sameliā, the ancestor of the Rāos of Pol. These Rāos reigned for twelve generations until expelled in 1656 by Murād Bakhsh. In 1728 the Mohammedans were expelled by Ānand Singh and Rāi Singh, brothers of the Rāja of Jodhpur. The state now consisted of Idar, Ahmadnagar, Modāsa, Bāyad, Harsol, Prāntej, and Vijāpur. Ānand Singh was in his turn expelled by Bachājī, an officer of Dāmājī Gaikwār, on behalf of the Peshwa, and killed in 1753: but Rāi Singh defeated the Marāthas, and replaced Shiv Singh, son of Ānand Singh, on the throne. Most of the territory, however, passed to the Peshwa and the Gaikwār. Family dissensions broke out on the death of Shiv Singh in 1791, and resulted in the dismemberment of the state. (*I.G.* xiii, 325, and vol. i, 290 *note*.) The story is completed in the note at the end of chapter xiv.]

II. GENEALOGICAL TREE OF THE FAMILY OF ÂNANDSINGH OF IDAR



CHAPTER XI

DÂNTÂ

RÂNÂ JETMÂL,[1] of Dântâ, left two sons. The elder was Jesingh, the younger, Poonjâ, whose mother was the daughter of the Wâghela of Dhunâlee, one of the Sirdârs of Dântâ. Poonjâ lived for a time with his mother's family, because the brothers did not agree. But when his father died, this being no longer a secure refuge, he was conveyed by his mother's brother to Chitrâsunee, in the lands of Seerohee. After Jetmâl's death, all the Sirdârs and relations slept in the durbâr for the twelve nights of the mourning, on coverlets laid on the ground, and Koonwur Jesingh Dev himself slept in a cot. When the servant came to prepare the cot for him, he threw out of its place the coverlet of Sudhoojee Bâdoowâ's son, Umurâjee, and began to make ready the cot there. Then all asked, 'Whose cot are you making ready here?' The servant said it was the durbâr's. The Sirdârs said, 'Why, the durbâr 'died two days ago, and how is it that there is another in 'so short a time?' The servant said, 'The Supreme Being 'has so arranged it, and it is not now to be set aside by you.' When the Sirdârs heard this, it seemed very ill to them, and they considered that 'he will not suit our purpose.' Afterwards all the Sirdârs assembled, and, holding a consultation, said to Bâdoowâ Umurâjee, 'Employ some means that appear 'to you good.' He said, 'I will go and take the weight of 'another master,—but you must all of you stand to my aid 'courageously.' Then Umurâjee took two horsemen with him, and set off. When the three were setting out, Koonwur Jesingh Dev said, 'Whither are you going?' They said, 'We are 'upon the durbâr's business.' Then he thought, 'It may be so; the Kârbhâree may have sent them on some business.' The three went to Dhunâlee, and asked the Thâkor, Wâghela Mokum Singh, where Poonjâ was. He said he was at Chitrâ-

[1] *Vide* vol. i, p. 419

sunee. They went thither, and stayed the night. The next morning they called the Sindhee, to whom the village belonged, and said to him, 'Poonjâ has been living with you; will you, 'therefore, do him service?' He said, 'I have three hundred 'or four hundred men; whatever service you may point out 'I am ready for.' He then got his men ready. Guduwee Umurâjee now said to Poonjâ, 'Be pleased to accompany us 'to Dântâ.' He said, 'I will not come, because he will put me to death.' The Guduwee said, 'I am security that no 'one shall put you to death.' They turned back, therefore, taking Poonjâ with them, and came to Surrâ. The next day was the auspicious day for Jesingh Dev's taking possession of the cushion, and much splendid preparation was made. Jesingh Dev was putting on his clothes in the durbâr. Meanwhile Poonjâ made his appearance, and the Kârbhâree and Sirdârs placed him on the cushion. All said to the chief of the merchants of Dântâ, named Nânâbhaee, 'Do you make 'the teeluk;'[1] upon which the merchant made the teeluk, and presented fifty-five rupees as an offering; after which all the others presented suitable offerings. At this time the soldiers from Chitrâsunee came, and said, 'What service have 'you for us to perform?' They told them to put sentries on all four sides of the durbâr, that no one might come or go. This was effected in a perfect manner. Afterwards the royal drum was sounded, and cannon fired. Jesingh, hearing this, said, 'Who caused that drum to sound?' Some one told him, 'Poonjâ has assumed the cushion.' Meanwhile the order arrived, 'Whatever jewels belonging to the durbâr you 'may have in your possession must be sent, and you must 'leave the place.' Jesingh Dev asked, 'Where am I to go 'to?' The answer was, 'You should go to the village of 'Gungwâ, which was assigned to your mother for a sub- 'sistence.' Jesingh Dev said, 'Gungwâ is a single village; 'that will not supply my necessaries.' The village of Mânkuree was then assigned to him in addition. He took his family with him, and retired to Gungwâ.

The same day that Poonjâ assumed the cushion he was

[1] [The Tilak or Tika is the auspicious mark made on the forehead of the new Râja (see Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i, 276.]

attacked with vomiting. The Sirdârs considered what this omen might mean. Some omen-reader suggested, 'The Raja 'suffers from repletion—the meaning is that he will make 'many districts his own.' Afterwards, when he reached mature age, he won back several rights of 'wol,'[1] in Dhândhâr, which had been encroached upon. He won back also his wântâ[2] lands in the Kherâloo puttâ, which had been seized. He also revolved in his mind the restoration of Tursunghmo, but found no leisure to restore it. At this time he gave the village of Rorâ, which has since become desolate, to Umurâjee Bádoowâ; he gave him also the 'Kereeo wântâ,' in the village of Koondul, with five-and-twenty mango trees. At an after-time the Rânâ gave also certain fields in the village of Thânâ, which the Guduwee resigned to his half-brothers, Sâmojee and Sukhojee. Rânâ Poonjâ afterwards married at the house of the chief of Lembuj, a brother of Seerohee. This Lembuj chief, whose name was Chândojee, was 'out' against Ukherâj, the lord of Seerohee, on which account he came to Dântâ, and received from Poonjâ Rânâ the village of Wusâee to reside in, which is off the road to Umbâjee. Chândojee lived there, and prosecuted his feud with Seerohee, which was not arranged until after a five years' struggle. Chândojee then gave his sister in marriage to Rânâ Poonjâ, and assigned the lands in the village of Wusâee, which had been reclaimed by him, as her dower. Thus did Poonjâ reign in a good manner. He left three sons,—Mân Singh, Umur Singh, and Dhengojee, which last got the village of Guncheroo.

Mân Singh succeeded on the death of Rânâ Poonjâ. Umur Singh obtained the village of Soodâsunâ; but it happened that he once on a time went to pay a friendly visit to the Thâkor of Chitrâsunee and was on his return thence, when the army of the Bâbee, of Rhâdunpoor, which was on an expedition, made its appearance. Umūr Singh was slain by them at the forest near the village of Pulkhuree, in Dhândhâr. He left two sons, Hutheeojee and Jugtojee, who were slain

[1] [*vol*, forced contributions levied by powerful landowners in Gujarāt (*Bombay Gazetteer*, i, part i, pp. 216, 227).]

[2] [*vānta*, private lands of chiefs in Gujarāt (*Ibid.*, vii, 340, 344, 346, i, part i, 215).]

by Mân Singh's Koonwur, Guj Singh, after he assumed the cushion. The story is as follows :—

Once on a time Guj Singh was seated in the palace at Dântâ, and said to those around him, 'Is there any one who 'would leap down from that limb[1] tree into the court?' Hutheeojee climbed the tree immediately, and jumped down. Rânâ Guj Singh thought within himself, 'This man will some 'day play me false.' Some time afterwards he said to a Chowra Rajpoot, who was in his service, 'If you will kill these two 'brothers I will give you a field in free grant.' Then that Rajpoot killed the elder brother with a blow of a sword in the very hall of Dântâ, and the other he slew on the hill, opposite the window of the durbâr. There is a shrine of this younger brother, Jugtojee, at the same place, where prayers are made to him. He sometimes appears to people, and sometimes possesses them, in which case offerings must be placed there for him. Hutheeojee left a son, Khomân Singh, who received the village of Udeyrun, in place of Soodâsunâ, which was taken from him; for his mother, after her husband's murder, brought Khomân Singh, then a child, to Rânâ Guj Singh, and placed him in his lap, saying, 'Do to this boy also as it may please 'you.' The Rânâ said to himself, 'I have killed his father, 'but if I give him something I shall be freed from the sin of 'murdering a relation; so he gave him Udeyrun.' Jugtojee left no son.

To return, however, to Mân Singh; he reigned four or five years, and died leaving two Koonwurs, Guj Singh and Juswojee. The village of Rânpoor was first assigned to Juswojee, but, after the death of Hutheeojee and Jugtojee, he received, also, the estate of Soodâsunâ, retaining Rânpoor as well. Juswojee afterwards obtained Wusâee, in the Dântâ puttâ, and Juspur-Chelânoo.[2]

Guj Singh ruled in a good manner, and left two sons,[3]

[1] [The Nim tree, *Melia azadirachta*. cf. vol. i, p. 305, *note*.]

[2] For Juswojee's descendants see note on 'Soodâsunâ,' at the end of this chapter.

[3] The following is the inscription on the monument of Rânâ Guj Singh, at Dântâ :—

'In the year 1743 (A. D. 1687), on Mâgsheer shood 9, Sunday, when 'Rânâ Shree Gujsunghjee went to Vyekoonth, three sutees burned,

Pruthee Singh and Veerum Dev, who obtained the village of Nâgel. In Pruthee Singh's time, the army of Dâmâjee (Guikowâr) came to Dântâ. Pruthee Singh opposed him in arms for some time, and at last took to the hills. Afterwards he repaired to the Mahratta camp on receiving safe conduct, and agreed to pay something in the way of tribute, which, when the Mahrattas had received, they withdrew. Afterwards Hyder Koolee, the Nowaub, on the part of Delhi, came with an army. The Rânâ fought with him, too, and slew thirty of his followers. In the end, the army retreated, and victory remained with the Rânâ. After this, the Pâhlunpoor chief ceased to pay a claim, which the Rânâ held upon the Pâhlunpoor village of Ghoreeâlya. The Rânâjee now considered how to strike the village. When the Pâhlunpoor chief knew of this, he sent for the Bhâts of Mehmudpoor (one of his villages), and said, 'Do you keep guard in the village of Ghoreeâlya.' They did so, and the news was carried to Dântâ. At this time, a Wâneeâ, named Ruheeo, was the minister of Dântâ. This Ruheeo sent for the Bhâts to Dântâ, and asked them to take charge of the villages of Dhunâlee and Sheeshrânoo, on which the Pâhlunpoor chief asserted a claim, saying, 'You are guarding one of the Pâhlunpoor villages, so 'guard one of ours, too, and we will give you as much as they 'give.' The Bhâts answered, 'We cannot ride upon two 'horses.' Ruheeo said, 'Well, then, go and keep the best 'watch you may, we will mount and come.' The Bhât thought he would go to Mehmudpoor for his own men, and then to Pâhlunpoor for men from thence, and thus garrison Ghoreeâlya. Meanwhile, the Rânâjee mounted at once, and struck Ghoreeâlyâ, which he plundered, carrying off hostages and cattle, with which he returned to Dântâ. When the Pâhlunpoor chief heard the news, he sent for the Bhâts, and reprimanded them, and said, 'Now do whatever remains in 'your power, and bring back my hostages which the Rânâjee

'their names—Vowjee Shree * * Unund Koonwur; Vowjee Shree 'Wâghelee Roopâlee, Unund Koonwur; Vowjee Shree Bhuteeânee 'Jesulmeree, Unop Koonwur—these three became sutees. In com'memoration of them this chutree of Rânâ Shree Gujsunghjee was caused 'to be made. In the year 1748 (A. D. 1692), on Muhâ wud 7, on Friday, 'the chutree was caused to be made.'

'has seized.' Then the Bhâts collected to the number of a hundred, and began to perform 'dhurna.'[1] They set out from their own village, and, at every kos as they advanced, they burned a man, so that, by the time they had arrived at Poonjpoor, seven or eight men had perished. Then the Dântâ men, going out of Poonjpoor to meet them, brought the Bhâts round, and prevailed on them to turn back. But, when the Rânâjee sent to offer gifts to the Bhâts, they said, 'If we receive anything, the Rânâjee will be washed from 'this sin; therefore we will receive nothing,' so saying, they went home. On account of this sin, though Pruthee Singh Rânâ had seven sons born to him, he died childless. At his death three of his wives became sutees, of whom one was the daughter of Sukhut Singh, the Deora of Lembuj; another was the daughter of the Wâghela of Pethâpoor.[2]

Pruthee Singh's line having failed, the minister and Sirdârs united to place upon the cushion, Kurunjee, the son of Veerum Dev. This Kurunjee quarrelled with his own Sirdâr, Meghrâj, who held a puttâ including the villages of Deewuree, and Bhudder-mâlâ. At this time there was at Dântâ a Rajpoot, named Kotheeo Wukto, who, every day at opium time, used to be the butt of the Rânâ's abuse. One day this Rajpoot, becoming enraged, wounded the Rânâ with his sword, and escaping, took shelter with Megh Râj. Then the Rânâ sent to Megh Râj to say, 'Give up this offender to me.' Megh Râj

[1] [To 'sit dharna' is a term applied to a form of coercion, the person threatening to starve himself to death or until his demands are granted. Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 2nd ed. 315 ff., and cf. vol. i, p. 302.]

[2] There is an open funeral pavilion at Dântâ, which contains three pâleeyos. The centre one bears the figure of a horseman beneath the usual sun and moon, the two side stones have figures of sutees sculptured upon them. 'Rânâ Shree Kurunjee,' as an inscription records, 'caused 'to be made the chutree of Rânâ Shree Prutheesunghjee.' Another inscription runs as follows:—'Praise to Shree Gunesh! When Rânâ 'Shree Prutheesunghjee departed to Shree Vyekoonth, two sutees 'burned, their names—Vowjee Shree Deoree, Phool Koonwur, and 'Vowjee Shree Wâghelee Pethâpooree, Sirdâr Koonwur, in Sumwut, '1799 (A. D. 1743), on Shrawun, Shood 2, on Wednesday.' [Pāliya is a memorial stone erected to record the death of a hero whose spirit becomes guardian of the village (Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, iii, 1700).]

answered, 'When one has taken shelter, it is not the Rajpoot 'practice to give him up; therefore I keep him with my head.' Afterwards, when the Rânâ importuned him very much, Megh Râj sent the Rajpoot away into the hills, and himself going out in anger, went to Guncheroo, where he remained six months. However, the Rânâ took no steps to content him and bring him in. Megh Râj then thought with himself,—'What 'shall I do remaining here?' so he went to Soodâsunâ. The Thâkor of that place, whose name was Umur Singh, received him, and he stayed there a year, but the Rânâ still gave him no satisfaction. At length Megh Râj said to Umur Singh, 'Come! 'I will cause the cushion of Dântâ to be given to you.' They collected a force of one thousand men and munitions of war, and advanced upon Dântâ, which they entered, and drove out Kurunjee, who, mounting his horse, fled, and went to Pempulodurâ, five kos from Dântâ, the village which is usually assigned to the heir-apparent for his subsistence. Umur Singh now assumed the cushion at Dântâ, and brought the whole country into subjection to himself. Things remained in this state for two or three years. At length Bâdoowâ Gorukdâs, of Pânceâlee, and his brothers took counsel together, and agreed that it was not for their honor that their master, while they stood by, should be kept out of his throne. Afterwards they went together to Rânâ Kurunjee, and said, 'Why have you 'become cold, and why sit you here?—if you exert yourself 'you will win back the throne of Dântâ.' The Rânâ said, 'No way occurs to me, if any occur to you pursue it.' The Guduwees said, 'Summon your Sirdârs.' He summoned them. Sâheb Singh Bhâtee came, the Thâkor of Ghorâd; Unop Singh Râthor, also, the Thâkor of Hurâd; and the Thâkor of Godhunee, Deveedâs Wâghela. These three Sirdârs met, and came to the conclusion that, 'Without we procure 'the aid of Buhâdur Khân, the Deewân of Pâhlunpoor, our 'object cannot be effected.' However, they considered that the Deewânjee's assistance was not to be obtained without a great deal of money, which, under present circumstances, they could not procure. Afterwards Kurun Singh sent for his younger brother, Oomed Singh, who was at Nâgel, and said to him, 'You have a daughter who is a virgin; if you will marry her

'to Buhâdur Khân we shall get back our place.' Oomed Singh said, 'If the place be got back, you will be the master 'of the cushion; what gain will accrue to me that I should 'give my daughter to the Toorkâ?' Then Kurunjee gave him a written deed for five villages to be placed in his possession on the recovery of Dântâ. The gift consisted of half the village of Nâgel, the villages of Thânâ, Koondol, Pânoondurâ, and Wuroosun, and the present village of Gudh, which was afterwards founded in the lands of Koondol. Oomed Singh then agreed to do as they wished. Afterwards the three Guduwees went to Pâhlunpoor, and had an interview with Buhâdur Khân, and settled that he should help them to recover the place, and that, for his so doing, Oomed Singh's daughter should be betrothed to him. The Deewânjee was very much pleased, and said, 'I will recover your place for you, and the marriage 'shall be performed afterwards.' The cocoa-nut and a rupee were then presented, and the betrothal concluded. They took the Deewânjee's force with them, and went against Dântâ, and encamped among the mowra trees of Poonjpoor, from whence they sent a message to Umur Singh, demanding that he should quit Dântâ. Then Umur Singh considered,—'The Pâhlun-'poor force has come, so that now I shall not be able to keep 'Dântâ.' So he sent to say, 'I will give up your Dântâ to 'you, but what do you assign to me for my subsistence?' It was then arranged that he should have five villages in addition to the fifteen he held already, namely, Jetpoor, Nâna Surrâ, Torâ, Khâree, and Bâmuneeoo, and, besides these, a fourth share of the Mâtâjee's transit dues. At that time the Mâtâ received a rupee from each passenger. For some years four annas were paid to the chief of Soodâsunâ, but afterwards confusion began to occur in the accounts, whereupon the Rânâ commenced to levy only twelve annas from each person, leaving the Soodâsunâ share out of the question, and said, 'Do you 'take your four annas from whoever passes the gate of your 'village.' From this time they began to levy the four annas at Soodâsunâ.

Rânâ Kurunjee now came to Dântâ, and took his seat upon the cushion. When the force was ready to return home the lady was sent for from Nâgel to a spot in the lands of Thânâ,

where four mango trees grow beside a hillock, and there she was married to the Deewânjee. The whole were escorted to Pâhlunpoor.

This Kurun Singh had two sons, Rutun Singh, and Ubhe Singh. Rutun Singh ascended the throne. He had previously put to death the two Wâghela Thâkors of Dhunâlee, whose names were Lârkhân and Pârkhân, two brothers. The story is as follows,—This Lárkhânjee once on a time had come to Dântâ to pay his respects to Rânâ Kurunjee, because he too was one of the Dântâ Sirdârs. At that time Koonwur Rutun Singh was playing like a boy though he was thirty years old. Lârkhânjee said, 'How long are you to continue a child?' and ridiculed him. The Koonwur went and repeated what the Thâkor had said to the Rânâ. Kurunjee said, 'It is well! 'then kill me, and be called Rânâ.' The Koonwur said, 'Sire! may you be preserved, but him I will certainly kill.' Then the Rânâ said, 'You must get the strength first.' As soon as the matter came to Lârkhânjee's ears he started off home. Two years after this, Rânâ Kurunjee went by chance to Nâgel. Thither the aforementioned two Wâghela brothers came to meet him. Then the Koonwur thought 'To-day 'I will put them to death.' He arranged with some followers of his that they should take Lârkhânjee with them to the Suruswutee river to bathe, keeping Pârkhânjee with the Rânâ, and that the former should be killed there, and a gun then fired as a signal for the other brother also to be put to death. Accordingly the Koonwur set off to bathe, taking a javelin with him. He thrust Lârkhân through with this javelin, and his followers finished him; a gun was then fired, and the men who were about the Rânâ, as soon as they heard the report, put Pârkhân to death. When Buhâdur Khân, the Deewân of Pâhlunpoor, became aware of this matter, he said, 'These 'two Thâkors had my safe-conduct; I must, therefore, take 'precautions lest the Rânâ should ill-treat their families.' He therefore placed two hundred horse in Dhunâlee and Sheshrânoo, and the possession thus acquired has been retained, so that the villages have fallen under Pâhlunpoor. The deceased left each a son, one of which sons went to live at a village of his own, named Godhunee, where his descendants

still remain; the other went to the house of his father's sister at Soodâsunâ, and obtained 'wantâ' from the chief of that estate.

Rutun Singh reigned about five years after the death of his father, and died leaving no son. He was succeeded by his younger brother, Ubhe Singh. This Rânâ brought to Dântâ a Mahratta named Urjoon Row Chopuro, to whom he promised the 'chouth' of the Dântâ possessions. The reason was that his Sirdârs and puttâwuts, and his brothers, too, were giving trouble, as were also the neighbouring Rajas. Urjoon Row brought a hundred Guikowâr horse with him; he lived at Dântâ, and at first was satisfied with a trifling exercise of authority, but when two or three years had passed over he began to rule as if in his own right, and to build a small fort at Dântâ for his residence, and to annoy the inhabitants. Then the Rânâ began to be afraid lest his very throne should be encroached upon. Meanwhile this Soubah, while he was building his house, took by force for that purpose bamboo rafters that were lying at the doors of some Rajpoots' houses in the village. Then the eyes of the Rajpoots were split, and when the Mahratta soldiers began to jabber their 'ikarum 'tikarum,'[1] ordering people here and there, a fight would have been the result had not the Rajpoots reflected that it would be hard upon the Rânâ if a struggle were to take place. They went to the durbâr, and complained that the strangers had begun to give them much annoyance. Then said the Rânâ, 'What is an annoyance to you is first an annoyance to 'me.' He summoned all his Sirdârs. The Koonwur Shree Mân Singh was at this time about five and thirty years of age; he said to the Rânâjee, 'If it be your order I will drive these 'people out.' The Rânâ said, 'Do so, as you are a good son.' Then the Koonwur sent to the Chopuro to say, 'Do you now 'quit this place.' The Mahrattas paying no attention to the summons, the Koonwur blockaded them, and cut off their supply of water, grain, and grass, and threatened also to slay them unless they retired. At length they retired, but the Dântâ people moved with them, encircling them at a short

[1] [The words *ikaḍūn*, *tikaḍūn* mean in the Marāthī language 'hither, thither'.]

distance off, until they reached Gudwârâ, where they left them, and returned home. The Thâkor Soojâjee of Bhâloosunâ then entertained them, and began to quarrel with the Soodâsunâ people, saying that they must give him possession of his wântâ lands in their limits. Then Futteh Singh, Thâkor of Soodâsunâ, came to Dântâ to seek aid from Koonwur Mân Singh, who taking a force with him, went to the assistance of Soodâsunâ, and drove out the invaders. Then the Bhâloosunâ chief became alarmed lest, if a feud arose between him and Dântâ, he should be destroyed; he, therefore, dismissed the Guikowâr force, which moved off towards Ahmedabad. The Koonwur having effected a settlement returned to Dântâ, soon after which, in the year 1851 (A.D. 1795), the Rânâ Ubhe Singh died.

Ubhe Singh had three sons, Mân Singh who succeeded him, and whose mother was a Chowree lady of Wusâee, and Jugut Singh, and Nâr Singh, whose mother was a Bhuteeânee, the daughter of Sâheb Singh, Thâkor of Ghorâd, near Tursunghmo.

Mân Singh's first exploit was to make a raid upon Dhunâl, a village of Poseenâ, from whence he carried off the cattle, but the 'wâr,' pursuing him, recovered the spoil. Six months after that he struck the Poseenâ village of Chângod, which he plundered. The village became uninhabited, and has up to this moment so remained. When the Muhârâjâ Gumbheer Singh, of Eedur, went with an army on an expedition against the Mewâsees, he sent for Rânâ Mân Singh, who joined him with forty horse. After this moolukgeeree was completed and the Rânâ was returning home, the Muhârâjâ presented him with a horse worth a thousand rupees. After a reign of five years, Mân Singh died, in Sumwut, 1856 (A.D. 1800), and, as there were disagreements among the brothers at that time, people said he had been poisoned.

His brother, Jugut Singh, on mounting the throne made his inaugural foray (teekâ-dhâr)[1] on the village of Nendurdee, in Gudwârâ, which he plundered and burnt, carrying off hostages, because the Bheels of that village had harried the

[1] [The word *tika-daur* means the foray which the Rāja, after his investiture, was bound to make on the territory of some neighbouring Rāja (Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ed. 1920, i, 315.]

buffaloes of Nowâ-wâs, and the putel had come to Dântâ saying, 'Give me a spade, that if anywhere there is a bone 'left of my lord Mân Singh, I may dig it up. Had that lord 'been alive the Nendurdee Bheels had not carried off my 'buffaloes.' On another occasion he collected a force, and went against Poseenâ, when Keshree Singh, Thâkor of Poseenâ, came to meet him between Hurâd and his own village and, presenting a horse to the Rânâ as an offering, gave security. The force turning back went to Gudwârâ, and advanced upon Muhâwud, upon which Thâkor Wukhtojee came, and presented a horse, and, making an agreement, gave security. After this the Rânâjee exacted a horse from Hâtheejee Gudheâ of Nânâ Kothârun, against whom a claim existed on account of a robbery. The force returned home from thence.

Again in the year 1870 (A.D. 1814), the Rânâjee collected a force, and carried off all the buffaloes of Dhunâl. He next struck the village of Bâwul Kotheeoo, belonging to the Raja of Derol, and plundered it. Next year he struck and plundered Kheroj, which belonged to a brother of the Thâkor of Poseenâ, on which occasion two of his men were killed. His brother, Nâr Singh, who was married to a lady of that place, came to him, and said, 'I shall be blamed at this time, people 'will say, "Nâr Singh came with them, and caused his father-'in-law's village to be plundered."' On that account they turned back, and went to strike the village of Dhuroee. At this place the enemy gained over a Bârud, named Keertâjee, who was with the force; upon which, this Keertâjee going to the gate of the village, said to the Rânâ that the omens were not good. On this account they turned back, and came to Thânâ, where they encamped. At this halting place the Rânâ called together the Sirdârs and the minister, and asked from what source he was to pay the arrears due to the mercenaries. They answered that Thâkor Rutun Singh of Pâwudee, and Thâkor Undojee of Undhâreeâ, incited the Mewâsees to enter the Dântâ country, and caused them to plunder, and that, therefore, their two villages should be plundered, and the means of paying the mercenaries procured. The Rânâ then prepared to advance upon Undhâreeâ, upon which the Thâkor of that village fled to Pâwudee, and he and the others who

were threatened got ready for the fight. Now, in the end of the night the Rânâ's army broke up from Thânâ, and advanced to Undhâreeâ, when they found the village deserted. They went to Momun-wâs, where they received a fire of musketry from the defences. Upon this the mercenaries forming the advance of the Rânâ's force fired, and one of their balls killed Thâkor Undojee of Undhâreeâ; the rest of the people who were assembled at Momun-wâs then fled, and took to the hills, and the village was struck and plundered. The Rânâ immediately advanced, and halted at Pâwudee, which village also he plundered, and, carrying off the property, turned back, and encamped at Motâ Surrâ. At this place the Thâkor of Pâwudee came to the Rânâjee, bringing security, and it was arranged that a third share of Undhâreeâ should be the Rânâjee's property, to which effect bonds were interchanged. After this, security was taken from the surrounding Mewâsees, and in 1872 (A. D. 1816), the Rânâ broke up the army, and returned home to Dântâ.

Thâkor Wukhtojee Jeetojee said once to Rânâ Jugut Singh, 'My expenses are not supplied by the villages of Khâbhee-wâs 'and Kunbee-wâs; therefore give me something in addition.' The Rânâ said, 'You will not get anything more than that 'which was assigned to your father.' Wukhtojee upon this went off in anger to Deesa, to Deewân Shumsher Khân, and said to him,—'If you will give me a force, I will go and do 'some injury to the Dântâ country, that I may procure satis-'faction of my demands.' At that time, however, there was friendship between the Deewân and the Rânâ; therefore the former wrote to the latter, to say,—'Come to terms with 'Wukhtojee, or he will do some mischief.' The Rânâ then sent for Wukhtojee, and offered to give him a grant of the villages of Oonturee and Bhootâsur, if he would release them from an Uteet to whom they had been mortgaged. Wukhtojee assented to this proposal, and released the two villages, which were uninhabited, and founded there a single village, called Ubhâpuroo, where he placed his family, living himself at Dântâ, and performing service there as Prudhân. Two years afterwards he died, and Ubhâpuroo then fell to his sons, and to his brother Bhuvjee.

At this time Sirdâr Singh, Thâkor of Koondol, died, leaving no son, upon which Rânâ Jugut Singh and his brother, Nâr Singh, attached the five villages of the Koondol estate, and brought all the moveable property of the late Thâkor to Dântâ. The funeral ceremonies of Sirdâr Singh were performed at Koondol, and his Thakorine received three wells for her maintenance. However, Bhuvjee Jeetojee made a claim on the estate, and said, 'Something, at any rate, must be given me 'from Koondol.' Rânâ Jugut Singh said, 'Do you enjoy what 'was given to your father, Jeetojee—Khâbhee-wâs and Kun-'beewâs; you will not get any of this property.' Then Bhuvjee went off in anger to Pâhlunpoor, accompanied by Meheroo Sindhee, an old Jemâdâr of the Rânâ's, who was also on ill terms with the Rânâ. Now Bhuvjee having gone to Pâhlunpoor, made a petition to Miles Sahib about the right of succession to Koondol, which he contended was vested equally in the Rânâjee and himself, while the Rânâjee had taken possession of the whole. 'Therefore,' said Bhuvjee, 'I will 'pass a deed assigning the whole village to the English 'government, and whatever it may come into the mind of that 'government to give me I will receive.' Some adherent of the Rânâjee's wrote this intelligence to his master, who thereupon sent his brother, Nâr Singh, and Jeewâ Kulâl, a minister of his, to Pâhlunpoor, offering to make over a seven anna share of the whole territory of Dântâ to the English government, and to permit the attachment of the state by that government. Upon this Bhuvjee's hand became powerless. After this Bhuvjee took service with Futteh Khân, the Deewân of Pâhlunpoor, who gave him his fourth share of the village of Nâgel. The Rânâ subsequently gave Bhuvjee the village of Kurunpoor, and they drank the red cup together. The English government placed a garrison in the Dântâ country in the year 1876 (A. D. 1820).

In the time of this Jugut Singh, two hundred horse and five hundred foot of the Mewâsee Koolees, of the Kâkurej, made an inroad upon the Dântâ villages of Ruttunpoor and Poonjpoor, and carried off the buffaloes. Jugut Singh mounted on the 'wâr,' with fifty horse and two hundred foot. They met in the lands of Motâ Surrâ, and a battle was fought, in which

twenty-five of the freebooters were slain, and Bheekho Jemâdâr, a Bhâttee Rajpoot, on the Rânâ's side, was wounded, and had his horse killed. The cattle were recovered, and when the Rânâ returned to Dântâ, he presented Bheekho Jemâdâr with a gold anklet, a horse, and other gifts.

Now as Jugut Singh had no son, he proposed to Nâr Singh to adopt one of his two sons, Jhâlum Singh and Huree Singh. Nâr Singh thought, 'If the son obtain the cushion, the father will 'have to sit at his feet, and make obeisance to him.' Some people, however, persuaded Jugut Singh that Nâr Singh meditated to take him off by poison, or to slay him with the sword; and as he believed the story, he began to keep within his house, which he fortified, and never came near the council-room: the consequence of which was that the Bheels and Koolees of the surrounding villages commenced a system of plundering. At length the people came to him, and petitioned,—'If your high'ness neglect in this manner to keep up any order, and remain 'within your palace, how can the affairs of the country be car'ried on?' Now Rânâ Jugut Singh had no confidence in any Kârbhâree, but only in Kulâl Jeewâ, by whose advice he acted; and the people blamed him because he employed a liquor-seller as his minister. At this time there was a Seesodeeâ Rajpoot, named Gumân, at Dântâ, a slave-girl of whose establishment this Jeewâ carried off by force. On the other hand, this Rajpoot, Gumân, carried on an intrigue with one of Jeewâ's two wives. For these reasons there was a bitter enmity between these two. But Gumân could say nothing to Jeewâ, for fear of the Rânâjee. However, there were many other ministers, as well as people, who were very inimical to Jeewâ.

Once on a time the Kulâl set out to make the assessment of the year's crops; and he assessed a piece of rent-free garden land that belonged to Gumân; and when the Rajpoot protested against this he paid him no attention, but abused him on the contrary. Gumân then became very angry, and began to consider how he could put the Kulâl to death. His first step was to carry his mother and brother to the Poseenâ village of Hurâd. The next morning, at dawn, he got up, and took his station opposite the Kulal's door. Jeewâ soon came out of his

house, and seeing the Rajpoot sitting there, asked where he was going to. Gumân said that he was going to a certain village, but that he waited to see what the omens were. The Kulâl was a little alarmed in truth, but he went on, and finished his business with all haste, and began to return quickly home. The Rajpoot followed him, and struck him from behind. A struggle ensued; the Kulâl struck Gumân on the head with a brass vessel he carried in his hand, but received from him two stabs of a dagger. He escaped, however, from his grasp, and ran off for shelter to the house of a Dher, which he was entering, when the Rajpoot, who had picked up his sword and shield, ran quickly upon him, and slew him. Gumân took the ornaments off the corpse, and ran away, threatening some people, who raised an alarm, that he would kill them, too, unless they remained quiet. He got clear off into the hills. A servant went to wake the Rânâjee, who was still lying down, and told him what had happened. The Rânâ was very much distressed, and ordered that the slayer of Jeewâ should be put to death. On all sides horsemen then gallopped off, but as they were all glad that Jeewâ had been killed, they merely went up and down for a time, and then returned, and said that the murderer had not come into their hands. Upon this, Jugut Singh felt satisfied that it was Nâr Singh who had caused his Kârbhâree to be put to death, intending to slay him also, and he began to say so before people. Nâr Singh then sent to the Rânâjee, to say, 'Why do you give me a bad name in this 'way? I will leave your town.' He prepared to go off to Ahmednugger. The people, however, went to the Rânâ, and said, 'Nâr Singh is going off in anger. You must bring him 'round, and get him to stay; for it will not be to your credit 'if he goes.' Then the Rânâ sent men, and persuaded Nâr Singh to return, and people made the two brothers drink opium together. A month afterwards, however, some one again excited the Rânâ's suspicion that Nâr Singh sought to kill him; so he went to Soodâsunâ, and stayed there two months with Thâkor Mohobut Singh. Nâr Singh and the ministers all of them went to give him satisfaction, and succeeded in bringing him back to Dântâ. He stayed, however, only ten or twelve days, and, again flying, took refuge in the monastery

of an Uteet, at Pethâpoor, whom he informed that Nâr Singh purposed to kill him. He stayed there a month, and was again persuaded to return home; and soon after he was attacked with fever and other disease, which, after a month's illness, carried him off, on the 7th Phalgoon wud, in the year 1879 (A. D. 1823).

Nâr Singh assumed the cushion after the death of Jugut Singh Rânâ.

In the year 1892 (A.D. 1836), Rânâ Juwân Singh of Oodeipoor came on pilgrimage to Shree Umbâjee, on which occasion he invited Rânâ Nâr Singh to visit him. Nâr Singh accordingly went to the Mâtâjee's, and took up his lodging there. The Rânâ of Oodeipoor now sent to inquire, 'In what manner 'will your visit be made? Have you any record on the 'subject in your durbâr?' Nâr Singh then inquired of all the Sirdârs and Kârbhârees, but no record was found. Then all the old men were enquired of, and among them, I, too (the narrator of this account), was questioned. I said, that Rânâ Kânur Dev had married at Oodeipoor, and that the Seesodunee lady had become a sutee at the gate of Koturâ, where her monument might be seen to this day.[1] Upon this, Rânâ Juwân Singh sent for Nâr Singh to visit him, and rose to receive him. Nâr Singh presented a horse and a gun worth a hundred rupees, and Juwân Singh gave him, in return, a horse and a pearl necklace. He presented the family priest, also, with a pair of gold armlets. Juwân Singh after remaining two days set off homewards, on which occasion Koonwur Jhâlum Singh, with his horsemen, escorted him as far as Seerohee.

Nâr Singh and Jhâlum Singh went, in the year 189—, on the occasion of an eclipse of the moon, to Aboo, on a pilgrimage. On that occasion there were great sunghs assembled at Aboo from Goozerat, Marwar, and Mewar. At the time of the eclipse people began to bathe in the Nukhee tulâv, when an ascetic came, and said, 'Let not any one bathe in the tank 'at this time; whoever does so will die.' Some of the pilgrims believed this, and did not bathe; but the greater part disbelieved, and bathed. At the time, sixty-four Yogeenees'

[1] *Vide* vol. i, pp 408–9.

chariots descended from the sky, and the Yogeenees commenced bathing. In the morning the cholera broke out, and as many as had bathed died, with few exceptions. The Rânâ and the Koonwur had bathed after the eclipse was over, therefore they did not suffer, nor did any of the sungh that was with them die. They remained four days, and then went to Umbâjee.

After this the Governor Sahib came from Bombay to Sâdrâ, and invited all the Bhoomeâs of the Myhee Kântâ to visit him. Rânâ Nâr Singh and Koonwur Jhâlum Singh went with the rest to Sâdrâ, and presented to the Sahib a horse and a piece of gold tissue; in return for which the Sahib gave both father and son a pair of shawls and a turban. All the other Bhoomeâs gave and received dresses of honor. At length the Sahib returned to Bombay, and all the Bhoomeâs went home. The principal Hindoo Rajas were Muhârâjâ Gumbheer Singh, of Eedur, Muhârâjâ Kurun Singh, of Ahmednugger, and Rânâ Nâr Singh; the principal Mohummedan Sirdârs were Futteh Khân, the Deewân of Pâhlunpoor, the Nowaub of Rhâdunpoor, and Shumsher Khân, the Deewân of Wurgaum.

After this, Rânâ Nâr Singh went to Major Miles, at Pâhlunpoor, about an arrangement for his country, and represented that he had given a share in it to the English government to keep order; but that instead of agents of the English government, there were sent employés of the Deewân of Pâhlunpoor, with whom he had made no agreement whatever. However, the Major gave Nâr Singh no satisfaction and as the Nowrâttrâ was near, he was obliged to take leave to attend at the Mâtâjee's. At length, when Lang Sahib[1] came to Sâdra, the Deewân's attachment was removed, after it had been maintained for about twenty-seven years.

Nâr Singh died in Sumwut, 190—, and his corpse was committed to the flames by Jhâlum Singh, at Gungwâ. The young Rânâ also built a chutree at that place.

[1] Colonel Lang, an officer who for several years held the appointment of political agent in the Myhee Kântâ, and whose name is there widely and deservedly respected.

NOTE ON THE SOODÂSUNÂ BRANCH OF THE FAMILY OF DÂNTÂ [1]

When Guj Singh, the son of Rânâ Mân Singh, was the occupant of the cushion of Dântâ, and his brother, Juswojee, held the estate of Rânpoor, Umur Singh, the son of Poonjâ Rânâ, Mân Singh's brother, was at Soodâsunâ. At this time, the Soodâsunâ estate consisted of the single village of that name. Umur Singh, who was a valiant warrior, sought to bring into subjection to himself Juswojee's estate of Rânpoor, on which account he made frequent forays upon Rânpoor, and carried off the cattle. Once on a time, when he had made an inroad, and was driving off the buffaloes, Juswojee sent to him to say, 'Uncle! it was not suitable that you should have 'driven away the buffalo cow which supplies me with milk.' Umur Singh answered, 'There's many a male buffalo in the 'lands of Rânpoor, if you want milk, drink from one of them.' Then Juswojee came to Dântâ, and told this story to Mân Singh in great sorrow. Mân Singh said, 'We cannot come 'round Umur Singh at the present time, some day I will look 'after him.' After this, Mân Singh, retaining enmity in his heart, incited the Mewâsees and freebooters to put Umur Singh to death, promising a reward, upon which their people began to annoy Soodâsunâ. On one occasion, the Gudheeâs drove off the Soodâsunâ cattle, and Umur Singh going on the 'wâr,' overtook them at Bhâloosunâ, and recovered the spoil. One of his cultivators, however, came to him, and said, 'You 'have recovered all the cattle, but there was a bullock 'belonging to me, worth a hundred rupees, which is not among 'them, so you have made no "wâr" for me.' On this Umur Singh turned back after the forayers, and recovering the bullock began to drive it home, but the animal was restive and would not be driven, but ran off continually. At last Umur Singh thought, that if the bullock were carried off by the forayers, he would lose his honor; so he killed it with his spear, and returned. On account of this murder, he met his death

[1] [Sudāsana is a petty state in the Nāni Mārwār district of Mahī Kāntha, on the borders of Pālanpur, comprising nineteen villages and paying tribute to Baroda and Idar.]

within four months of that time. It happened thus :—He had gone to Chitrâsunee to pay a visit of friendship to the Thâkor. As he returned a meer (minstrel) joined his company. Umur Singh said to him, 'There are many outlaws about at this time 'and you cannot keep up with us, so you must not come.' The meer said, 'Sire ! I must needs come with you.' So saying, he went on as before. Meanwhile, at the village of Pulkhuree, Umur Singh fell in with a party of the Bâbee of Rhâdunpoor's horse, who were out on a plundering expedition. As the Rajpoot party retreated before them, the mare, which the meer rode, broke down. Then Umur Singh called to him to get off, and kill the mare, and mount behind on his own horse, but, before the meer could get down, the pursuers overtook him. He cried out, 'Sire ! do not go away and leave 'me.' Umur Singh turned back to help him, and, at that moment, received a ball in his chest, and fell dead.

After the death of Hutheeojee,[1] the son of Umur Singh, his Koonwur, Khomân Singh, being only eighteen months old, Juswojee took possession of Soodâsunâ Hutheeojee's Thâkorine came thereupon to the Rânâ, and said, 'How shall I 'subsist now ?' upon which the Rânâ gave her the village of Udeyrun, where her descendants still remain.

Juswojee continued to hold Soodâsunâ, and had five Koonwurs. Sirdâr Singh, the eldest, succeeded him ; Ujbojee and Dhunrajjee received from the Rânâ the village of Solânoo ; Nâthjee and Jorjee received Juspoor, which was founded by Juswojee. In Juswojee's time, a Guikowâr army came, under the leading of a Soubah, named Vitoobâ, and caused annoyance to Soodâsunâ, at which time Bhoj Râj Râwul, Togo Wunol, and Ghelojee Bâdoowâ, the Guduwee of Pâneeâlee, came to use. The army struck the village, and retired, and the people then returned from among the hills, and rebuilt it. At this time, the Guikowâr army used to come every three or four years, and, when the people of the village heard of their approaching, which they did generally when they were about ten kos off, they caused the Trughâyâs to beat their drums, and raise a cry of 'Fly, fly, the army is coming !' upon which the people fled, and, taking shelter among the hills, concealed

[1] See p. 146.

themselves there. When the force came up, the village was plundered and set on fire; and then, if the Mahrattas maintained themselves there for any length of time, an arrangement was come to, and a certain sum of money for which the villagers assessed themselves, was paid as tribute, or jumâbundee, and the people returned, and re-inhabited the village.[1]

When Juswojee died, Sirdâr Singh assumed the cushion. Now Rânâjee Guj Singh, having attained to old age, and having no son, took Sirdâr Singh into his lap, but, after that, a son, named Prutheerâj, was born to him. After Guj Singh's death, Sirdâr Singh, founded, upon this, a claim to the cushion of Dântâ; and, in compensation for his abandonment of it, received Wusâee, Dâwol, Dâlesânoo, and several other villages. Sirdâr Singh's brothers 'went out' for a subsistence, and obtained certain lands and fields.

Sirdâr Singh's eldest son was Oomed Singh. His four younger sons, Chundra Singh, Wukhut Singh,[2] Surtân Singh, and Pertâp Singh, received the village of Wusâee, to be held jointly. Sirdâr Singh, having made a foray upon Tembâ, and carried off cattle and hostages, the 'wâr' came from Tembâ, and a conflict ensued, in which Koonwur Oomed Singh was slain. He left three sons, Umur Singh, the Pâthuwee Koonwur, Jugoojee, and Ugur Singh, who received five villages, to be held jointly.

On the death of Sirdâr Singh, he was succeeded by his grandson, Umur Singh. The Kheelor district, which lies between Soodâsunâ and Taringâ, was held by Hureeol Rajpoots, who were puttâwuts of Dântâ, but these, being much annoyed by the Mewâsees, left the district, and retired to the village of Kurbuthee, in the Wurnugger Talooka, upon which the chief of Soodâsunâ took possession of the district, with the consent of the Rânâjee. In Umur Singh's time, a Guikowâr army was repulsed with loss to them, but without a single man being killed on the part of Soodâsunâ. It was this Umur Singh who took possession of Dântâ.[3]

[1] 'Many times,' says the narrator of this story, 'do I recollect having 'to take flight on such occasions as these.'

[2] [Tod more correctly writes Bakht Singh. *Bakht* is Persian for fortune.]

[3] See p. 149.

Umur Singh left a son, Futteh Singh, whose sons were Mohobut Singh and Punjee. In the time of Mohobut Singh, in Sumwut, 1860 (A. D. 1804), Kâkâjee brought a Guikowâr army, and a conflict ensued. The Mahrattas lost sixty men; but the Thâkor was assisted by the spirit of Mâniknâth Bhâwo,[1] and did not lose a man, but gained the victory. This Mâniknâth is the same Bhâwo who permitted the erection of Ahmedabad, and who has two shrines on the hills at Tursunghmo and Soodâsunâ, where he used to dwell. Mohobut Singh made a foray upon Runsheepoor, and carried off cattle and hostages, because the Bheels of that place had harried the buffaloes of his village of Dâwol.

Mohobut Singh left four sons, Huree Singh, Rutun Singh, Purbut Singh, and Mokum Singh. Huree Singh enjoyed the cushion four years, and was succeeded by Rutun Singh, who held it for two years, and died. His son, Bhooput Singh, succeeded him, and lived a year afterwards. Then Purbut Singh, the present Thâkor succeeded. Mokum Singh died in infancy.

[1] [This is the ascetic who 'permitted the erection of Ahmadābād', and after whom the Mānik Chauk and Mānik Burj are named. See *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. iv (Ahmadābād), p. 276, and *J.B.B.R.A.S.* 1917–18, p. 91, *note*.]

CHAPTER XII

MUHÂRÂJÂ GUMBHEER SINGH OF EEDUR

Now Khomân Singh, a Châmpâwut, had done good service to the raja, who therefore said to him, 'I have a great desire to 'promote you, but I am doubtful whether, if you are promoted, 'you will not turn against me.' Then the chief took an oath that he would never draw sword against his prince; upon which the raja granted to him the estate of Wânkâner,[1] with the right of receiving the royal embrace on entering the Court.

The village of Pânol belonged to a bard who died without a male heir. The mother and wife of the deceased maintained in his house relations of their own, a father and two sons, and procured wives for the youths. They also assigned a sixth share of the village to them, and gave them a separate establishment. However, the two brothers, in the hope of gaining possession of the whole village, formed the design of putting the ladies to death. They slew the elder lady with a dagger, but the bard's widow escaped, and making her way with great difficulty to Eedur, laid her complaint before the raja. Gumbheer Singh, upon this, sent for the principal bards of the neighbourhood, and commanded them to go to Pânol, and tell the two murderers that it was his order they should quit the place. This order was, however, disobeyed. The raja then sent for his chiefs one by one, and said, 'Do you go and slay these 'two bards, and make Pânol crown-land.' Each chief separately replied, 'If you please to take one of my villages do 'so, but it is not fit to put a bard to death; you should there-'fore pardon this offence.' Upon this the raja sent money to Hyderabad, in Sindh, and hired there fifty Abyssinians. When these made their appearance, all the chiefs and others, who knew what was intended, strove to change the raja's resolution. He did not, however, attend to their remonstrances. Then all

[1] This is Wânkâner in the Eedur country; not to be confounded with Wânkâner of Soreth.

repaired to Khomân Singh, and said, 'The raja bestows his 'complete favor upon you, so if you will exert yourself to 'persuade him, the bards will certainly be saved.' Khomân Singh went to the raja, and said, 'Have the kindness to 'pardon the offence of these bards.' The raja refused the request, upon which the chief of Wânkâner replied, 'Hence-'forth I will never make a petition to you any more.' The raja said, 'Do as you please.' Khomân Singh was pained at this reply, and immediately rising, departed to his home.

Now the raja sent the Abyssinians to put the bards to death; and these last getting intelligence of the matter, one of the young men cut off the heads of his two children. He slew also two of the Abyssinians, and maimed himself so frightfully that he died. His father also killed himself; but his brother, who was absent from home, escaped. The Abyssinians returned to Eedur. After these events the bard who survived, having collected from distant places five hundred of his caste-fellows, came to Eedur to compel Gumbheer Singh to make reparation; but the raja, with the aid of other bards, got rid of them. Khomân Singh took the death of the bards so much to heart, that he determined on retiring to the Himalaya mountains to die. The raja, with the chiefs of the state, proceeded to Wânkâner for the purpose of inducing him to change his resolution, and Gumbheer Singh said, 'If it is because of this bard 'that you are departing, you shall have a larger village instead 'of Pânol.' The chief, however, made answer, 'If you had 'listened to me when I came to entreat you, I would have 'remained, but I will not now remain though you adopt a 'million expedients.' Khomân Singh left home, accompanied by eleven attendants,—his relations, friends, or followers. In his train was a dweller among the hills, who had suffered so much annoyance from the Bheels of his village that he went to lay down his life among the snows of the Himalayas, in order that he might become the chief of the district in another birth and take revenge upon the Bheels. The desire of all the rest, however, was to pass to the heaven of Vishnoo. They had adopted the saffron robe; they had laid aside their arms for staves twisted round with silver wire; the horses they rode were stripped of all warlike ornaments. The chieftain's wives

and the inhabitants of his village were very much distressed at such a sight. Raja Gumbheer Singh, throwing himself in the way as the sad procession swept along the road, entreated Khomân Singh for the last time, and said, 'I will lay my turban in the dust at your feet.' The Châmpâwut answered, 'Should you do so, I would slay myself on the spot.' The raja was unable to urge anything more.

Khomân Singh's son and heir, Dheerjee, who was at this time twenty years old, obtained the estate of Wânkâner, and served the heir-apparent, Prince Oomed Singh, from whose kindness he received an addition to his lands and the privilege of sounding kettle-drums at the head of his cavalcade.

Now Raja Gumbheer Singh was very partial to Dheerjee of Wânkâner for reasons which will appear from the following narrative. During the time that the Rows of Pol had made forays upon Eedur in assertion of their claim to the cushion, they had plundered and burnt many villages. The raja, therefore, conceived the desire of retaliating by striking Pol. In A. D. 1808, he entertained six thousand matchlock men, and summoned all his vassals at Eedur, with whom he advanced as far as Wurâlee, without letting any of them know that the expedition was destined against Pol. Their next encampment, however, was at a pass four miles from that place.

When the raja's army left Eedur, the Row of Pol and the Rehwur and Wâghela chiefs, who had, of old, been vassals of his house, were all on the alert, and sent out scouts to bring intelligence. The only approach to Pol is by a pass almost in the bed of a river which flows between lofty cliffs from east to west. The pass is defended, also, by two gates. The Row caused both of these gates to be built up, and at each of them he placed some of his 'brothers' and mercenaries armed with matchlocks, who picked off the raja's men whenever they showed themselves. Gumbheer Singh lost forty men in this defile, and after encamping near it four months, was still unsuccessful in discovering any means of overcoming the difficulties opposed to him. He was therefore in the greatest despondency. At this time he caused four hundred gold armlets to be made, which he distributed among the Bheels of the neighbourhood,

and said to them, 'Show me a way by which I can get into 'Pol.' The Bheels said, 'There is no other road than this 'one, but a party with sealing ladders might ascend one by 'one a mountain path on the south side, though it would be 'a very difficult task for them to carry even their arms.' The raja sent at once for ladders, and, superintending the operation in person, caused his followers, one by one, to ascend. At this time the Eedur chiefs agreed that as the Koompâwuts were the raja's great favourites, they should lead the way on the occasion. Dheerjee, of Wânkâner, and other Châmpâwuts, however, privately agreed that their time was come for taking revenge against one of the chiefs, now with the Row, who had killed their relation. When the Koompâwuts mounted, therefore, Dheerjee and his friends mounted with them, and pushed on to Pol itself. They then called to the Arabs to wind their horns, and fired a volley of musketry. Upon this, the Row and his family fled over the hills, and Gumbheer Singh, entering Pol with the horse-hair fans waving before him, caused a cushion to be placed in the mansion of the Row, and took his seat thereon. The raja, after remaining there a month, was disposed to send for his family, and make Pol his residence, but the Row began to make daily inroads upon the Eedur villages, and the chiefs said, 'Your Highness has taken Pol and 'increased your fame, let all the dwellings, with the exception 'of this mansion, be given to the flames, and let us return to 'Eedur lest the Row enter therein.' Then the raja, following their advice, struck his camp, and came to Bheelorâ. At this time the mercenaries became urgent for their pay, which was two or three months in arrears, they surrounded the raja, and for two days prevented his smoking his hookah or taking any food. At last he sent for the head-men of all the crown-villages, and said to them, 'You swallow up the whole produce 'of my villages, and give me hardly anything. Now, therefore, 'what remedy have you to propose, as the troops have set a 'watch over me?' Then the head-men willingly paid fines according to their ability. The raja returned to Eedur, and because the Châmpâwuts had done good service in the matter, he extended much favor to them.

At this time, a force of Sindhis, five thousand strong, had

attacked Doongurpoor, and taken it, and having seized the Râwul, and placed him in a litter, they carried him about with their army. They now advanced into Wânswârâ, and a severe engagement was fought there, in which many on both sides were slain. A number of the villages of Wânswârâ were subdued. Then Urjoon Singh, one of the feudal chiefs of Wânswârâ, assembled a force, with which he defeated the Sindhis, and drove them out. These disturbances continued for five years, and the pay of Urjoon Singh's mercenaries having fallen into arrears, and no means existing for satisfying their demands, that chief moved his troops into Loonâwârâ and Bâlâsinor, where he exacted tribute, and at length, advancing into the Eedur country, came to Pâlya. Now Dheerjee, of Wânkâner, was at feud with the chief of Pâlya, but upon good terms with Urjoon Singh. He went, therefore, and had an interview with the latter. When the chief of Pâlya heard of this, he also went to meet Urjoon Singh, and said, 'I am at feud with 'Puhârjee, of Thodurâ, I will give you a sum of money if 'you will put him to death.' Urjoon Singh accepted this office. Now Dheerjee, who was a friend of the chief of Thodurâ, endeavoured, without success, to dissuade Urjoon Singh, and at last went away in a rage, saying, 'I go to 'Thodurâ to wait there for you. Come and fight with me 'as soon as you can.' He went to Thodurâ, and the chief of that place also began to collect mercenaries, but could secure the services of a few only. He therefore went to Eedur, and said to the Prince Oomed Singh, 'If you do not support me at 'this time I shall die fighting against the enemy, and then 'Thodurâ will pass into their hands.' Upon this, the prince, too, advanced to Thodurâ with his forces. The assailants, now finding that they were overmatched, gave up their attempt, and all parties returned to their homes. On this occasion, also, the raja was much pleased with the conduct of Dheerjee.

When Subul Singh, the son of Soorujmul of Chândunee, became a Dev, his two sons, Sâm Singh and Mâlum Singh, struggled for the possession of the estate. The elder son, Sâm Singh, who had little ability, went off in anger to Wânkâner. Mâlum Singh, on the other hand, went to Teentoee, and said to Kunukâjee, the chief of that place, 'If you will place me

'on the cushion at Chândunee, I will take your Koonwur in 'my lap.'[1] Kunukâjee thereupon went to Chândunee, and began to say, 'Mâlum Singh shall sit upon the cushion.' However, Dheerjee, of Wânkâner, came and said, 'Sâm 'Singh is the rightful heir, he shall sit upon the cushion.' The chiefs quarrelled for some time, and then went home. Soon after, Kunukâjee raised four hundred mercenaries, with whom he attacked Wânkâner. Dheerjee engaged him, and killed ten or twelve of his men; meanwhile, the neighbouring chiefs came, and said, 'Why do you fight to the death about 'other people's quarrels?' They thus induced Kunukâjee to retire, but a feud, not easily to be extinguished, had arisen between the two opponents. Now, the Chândunee minister came to Raja Gumbheer Singh, and said, 'Muhârâj! may 'it please you to come in person to place the young heir 'of Chândunee on the cushion.' The raja said, 'Did not 'Dheerjee and Kunukâjee go to place him on the cushion!' The minister replied, 'Muhârâj! he whom they seat on the 'cushion cannot sit there, but the young chief whom you 'may be pleased to seat there.' Then the raja said, 'If 'the village of Kothurâ be given to me I will come, and in 'exchange, I will give you that of Seeyolee.' The minister obtained Sâm Singh's consent, and passed a deed assigning Kothurâ to the raja, who thereupon went and seated the rightful heir on the cushion, and girt him with the sword; but as to the village about which he had spoken to the minister, that he never gave. To the younger brother of Chândunee, he caused a single village to be assigned for his subsistence.[2]

[1] Meaning that he would adopt the Koonwur as his own son.

[2] Major Miles, in his report on the Myhee Kântâ, of the 21st of September, 1821, has the following:—

'Soorujmul, father of Subul Singh, of Chandunee, died about forty 'years ago. Subul Singh is said to possess a very moderate share of 'understanding, and from his bad management, Futteh Singh, Thakor 'of Mhow, subsequently assumed the chief control among the Champa-'wuts. Futteh Singh died in A. D. 1805, and Anur Singh succeeded 'him, and also died in A. D. 1819. Gopal Singh, his son, is an infant, 'and the affairs of this quarter have since fallen into great confusion. 'Gopal Singh is about fifteen years of age. The putta of the Champawuts 'has lately been partitioned, from some quarrel between the two eldest 'sons of Subul Singh, Maljee and Samjee. The partisan of the first

A month after the first affair at Thodurâ, Dheerjee collected a force and commenced an advance against Teentoee, on account of the feud about Chândunee; but the other chiefs interfered, and went to induce him to return. Kunukâjee, upon this, made an attack upon Dheerjee's ally of Thodurâ, and Dheerjee, hearing the news, hastened to his assistance. A battle was fought, in which the chief of Teentoee was repulsed, with the loss of ten of his followers.

Kunukâjee, however, returning home, began again to collect a number of mercenaries that he might attack Thodurâ a second time. Dheerjee, when he heard of this, called in Prince Oomed Singh to defend Thodurâ, who went thither, though the raja and others dissuaded him from doing so. Kunukâjee advanced with his force into the lands of Thodura, and then heard this intelligence. He reflected, 'The heir-'apparent is within, and if anything were to happen to him, it 'would not be right.' He therefore passed by the lands of

'is Kunukajee, Thakor of Teentoee. The Raja of Eedur and Dheerjee 'have taken part with Samjee. The result, after much disturbance 'and bloodshed, has been the assumption of the town of Kher and half 'the pergunnah of Hursole, by the Raja of Eedur, with the consent 'of Kunukajee, who has taken charge of the remainder of the putta. 'The proprietors, nearly destitute of support, complain of the conduct 'of all parties.'

The following occurs in a report by Lieutenant-Colonel Ballantine, dated Sadra, 15th October, 1822:—

'*Chandunee.*—The relinquishment of this puttah was first sought 'by the owners, who had quarrelled, and its partition was the basis of 'the whole of the disturbances excited by Kunukajee and Dheerjee, 'which, with Gumbheer Singh's after-measures to check their usurpation, 'led to the Champawut rebellion. Maljee and Samjee are the sons of 'Subul Singh, and it appears that they are in every respect incompetent 'to the charge of their puttah. The measure has since been referred to 'a commission of the Sirdars, and the following is the substance of the 'decision given by them:—

'"The case of Maljee and Samjee being referred to our decision, we 'find it impossible to become their security, or to associate them in 'our arrangements and obligations. Both brothers labour under the 'effects of excessive inebriety, even to insanity; and both, under these 'failings, have committed the most atrocious acts; nor are they, in our 'judgement, capable of improvement. Hence we give it as our opinion, 'that, under these disqualifications, the following provision seems the 'most rational and equitable in their behalf, viz.: &c., &c, &c."'

Thodurâ and went to Pâlya, and took hostages therefrom. There was no reason for his going to Pâlya, except that he wanted to raise money. He went afterwards to other villages and took hostages, and from thence he wrote to the prince, saying, 'Your highness is my lord, therefore it is not fit that 'you should remain in Thodurâ. When you oppose me in 'fight, I have neither eye, nor spear, nor bullet, therefore you 'make me to appear low in the world's sight.' The prince was enraged at this letter also, so he gave Dheerjee some of his troops, and sent him against Kunukâjee. Now, an Arab officer of the chief of Teentoee's force was exercising his horse, when Dheerjee's men fired upon him, and killed the horse. The Arab went to Kunukâjee, and said, 'They have killed 'my horse, so I will now attack them.' That chief said, 'Do 'not you go there to fight with them ; but set matchlock men 'secretly beside the road in this ravine, and let us draw up 'in front, so that they may be shot down as they come against 'us.' They did so, and the result was, that Dheerjee lost seventeen horsemen, and was obliged to turn back to Thodurâ.

Dheerjee, on this occasion, had dressed one of the troopers in his own clothes, which trooper happened to be slain. Now, when Kunukâjee's men stripped the dead of their clothes, they found Dheerjee's clothes among the rest, and therefore thought that he was killed. Upon this, the Teentoee chief mourned greatly, and taking the red turban off his head, put on a white one. His son, Lâljee, then said to him, 'How is it that you 'did not think of the matter before, since you mourn in this 'way now?' He answered, 'You, all of you, turned my 'head, therefore it has happened thus.' Afterwards, when they made enquiry, they found that Dheerjee was safe, upon which Kunukâjee was very glad, and went home.

Now the prince, when he saw how sorrowful Dheerjee was, said to him, 'Do not you entertain the least sorrow, those that 'have died will not return again, but I will not allow you to 'be a loser in any respect. I will give you back your horses 'and servants.' Dheerjee said, 'He has taken away my 'honor, I must strike Teentoee.' The prince then took an oath, 'I will not return to Eedur, until Teentoee shall have 'been struck.' Then Dheerjee, taking the prince with him,

went to Teentoee. Oomed Singh wrote to his father to say, 'If you please to bring a force to my assistance do so, other- 'wise I will die fighting against Teentoee.' The raja was not pleased at the matter, but in order to protect his son he joined him with his forces. At this time a respectable bard of the Seerohee country, named Khoree Dânjee, was with the Thâkor of Teentoee, having been banished from Seerohee, because he had importuned the Row to fulfil an engagement which had been contracted on his security. When the raja's army came up, Kunukâjee took post in a fort he had caused to be made on a hill, and prepared to defend himself. However, Khoree Dânjee went to the raja and said, 'Sire! it is not becoming 'that you should bring cannon hither to carry on war against 'one of your own chieftains.' He managed to satisfy the raja and Kunukâjee with his arguments, but the prince and Dheerjee continued inflexible. At last the Teentoee chief paid a sum of money, and, peace being concluded, the raja took his son with him and returned to Eedur.

Notwithstanding this apparent settlement, Dheerjee's mind was not satisfied, but his anger was transferred to the prince. He returned home, and soon after carried off the cattle from the village of Bheelorâ, which had been given to Oomed Singh for his private purse. The prince upon this wrote a letter to Dheerjee, upbraiding him, to which that chief answered, 'Why 'did you cause my servants and horses to be killed?' Afterwards Dheerjee carried off cattle and hostages from the crown village of Bhootâwud. He struck also Wusâee, another of the prince's personal villages, and wounded three or four of its defenders. He plundered Sheelâsun, Rentorâ, and other villages. At length the prince raised two thousand men, and taking the chiefs with him, and two guns, went to Wânkâner. Dheerjee, too, prepared for engaging. He entertained two hundred mercenaries. The prince came up, and halted fifteen days at Wusâee. Dheerjee made a night attack upon the camp at that place, and, after killing the Arab who had charge of the artillery, got off in safety. The next day Oomed Singh moved from thence, and encamped at Bheelorâ, from whence he went on to Wânkâner. At that place there was fighting for three days, in the course of which ten men were killed of the prince's

party, and three of Dheerjee's. Then the prince wrote to his father, saying, that after three days' time all attempts to take Wânkâner had been unsuccessful, and demanding that more men should be sent to him. The raja upon this sent a reinforcement of two hundred foot and fifty horse. At this time many persons said to Dheerjee, 'The raja's heir has come here as 'a point of honour. Without striking Wânkâner he will 'not go away. In the end you,—a chief of three villages,— 'will not be strong enough to continue the contest; and you 'have deserved great applause that you have for three days 'resisted all attacks. Now, therefore, you should retire.' Upon this Dheerjee made preparations for a feast in his mansion. He set swinging beds in order, placed bottles of liquor and sweatmeats for the guests, with a sum of money as an offering, and all these arrangements completed, he retired. Then the prince plundered and burned the village, cut down the mowra and mango trees, and filled up the wells. He remained there three days, and returned to Eedur. Meanwhile Dheerjee, with his family, went to Doongurpoor. The Râwul of that place gave him a village, which he made his residence, and began to plunder and harass the Eedur country, doing a great deal of mischief. At length the raja, giving hostages for his safety, sent for him to Eedur, and came to terms with him. He restored his village to him, and the prince took him again into his personal service.[1]

[1] Dheerjee makes the following statement in a letter to Major Miles, dated 29th May, 1821:—

'I received your letter, and understood its contents. You write that 'you have heard of some irregular conduct on my part. This report 'is very true, but no depredations have been committed by me in the 'territory of the English government, and no one has been molested 'without cause. I have a note written by the Raja of Eedur, which, 'after having given me, he has altered his mind. He has seized one of 'my villages, and has been the cause of the death of my brethren 'without making me any recompense. He has also caused me the loss 'of ten horses, for which he has not paid me. Whatever the Muharaj 'promised has proved wholly false. He has resumed my village, not-'withstanding I have borrowed and expended fourteen thousand 'rupees for his service, of which sum he has not repaid me a farthing; 'and he has instigated my enemies to murder me. If you wish to see 'the note written by the raja, I will send it, and you can read and return

A year afterwards the prince gave Dheerjee a sum of money, and sent him into Kâteewâr, telling him to purchase as many

'it; and if any blame be imputable to me, I will conform to your 'directions. I molest none but my enemies and those upon whom 'I have claims. The British government is great, but my claims on the 'Muharaj should be allowed, and all the villages of the Champawut 'puttahs seized by him should be restored, after which I have no de-'mands, and shall then be ready to perform the service of the British 'Government. I have many enemies in the Eedur district. Send a man 'to me, and I will give him the paper before mentioned. I shall wait 'four days for him. Do not give credit to my enemies: my quarrel 'is with the Eedur durbar,' &c. &c.

Bharot Damodhur Mohobut Singh having been despatched by Colonel Ballantine to Dheerjee, returned to camp on the 30th September, 1821, and furnished the following information:—

'Soon after my quitting this camp, I was visited by Thakor Dheerjee, 'who, though he at first appeared satisfied in his own mind of the 'justice of his cause, eventually admitted his error, which was a first 'aggression against Eedur, but now expressed a sense of contrition, and 'solicited my agency in effecting a compromise with Laljee Muharaja '(Prince Oomed Singh) who had by this time advanced into the neigh-'bourhood of Wankaner with a large force. On a repetition of the 'Thakor's solicitation, I was induced to comply with his request, and 'he authorised me to make the following terms:—

'1st. To restore all plundered property up to the present time.

'2nd. To pay a portion of the expense incurred in entertaining 'troops against Wankaner.

'3rd. That he would compromise, by a gift of money or land, the 'death of a Brahmin that had taken place in one of his enterprises. And,

'Lastly. That he would attend the Muharaja's service.

'On this I lost no time in repairing to Laljee Muharaj, and fully 'represented these circumstances, soliciting at the same time his admis-'sion of the prayer, at all events until the matter could be brought 'to the knowledge of the British government. Laljee Muharaj at once 'declared that he would not, as Dheerjee had attacked his private 'village,—and only allowed me time to return, and inform Dheerjee 'of his intention. The village (Wankaner) was in due course attacked, 'and as Dheerjee on this occasion made no determined resistance, it 'was completely ransacked, and burnt to the ground.'

'Laljee Muhârâjâ to Colonel Ballantine, 9th September, 1821.

'Dheerjee for the last twelve months has committed the most serious 'excesses in our pergunnahs, from Wankaner, whence he has continued 'to send forth banditti, having entertained a numerous body of mer-'cenaries. Besides, he carried off a Banian hostage from the walls of 'Eedur. Dheerjee, however, disregarded our remonstrances for four 'months, when it became necessary for us to entertain troops, with

good horses as he could for the money. Dheerjee went to Wursorâ, near Mânsâ, where he spent the money in marrying a wife. He had one wife before this. After purchasing jewels and clothes for his bride, he had a small sum left, with which he purchased two horses, and, coming to Eedur, presented them to the prince. Oomed Singh asked where the rest of the money was gone to. Dheerjee answered, 'It was my master's 'money, and I spent it in my affairs; I did not go to steal 'from any other person's house.' The prince said nothing to this, but the raja pressed him saying 'Give up my money.' Dheerjee said, 'As to money I have none in my house, you 'may do what you please.' The raja then quartered horsemen upon him, upon which Dheerjee passed a deed assigning the village of Ghântee instead of the money. However he was very sore at heart upon the subject, and at length went out again in rebellion, taking his family with him. In the forest districts of the Mewar zillah there is a Bheel village, called Pâtheâ Wulechâ. Dheerjee lived a year in that village making forays into the Eedur country. Once on a time, he carried away the cattle from the village of Bâmunwâ, which belonged to

'whom we attacked Wankaner, and Champawut Dheerjee has been 'dispossessed, flying for refuge to the Doongurpoor territories.'

'Dheerjee to Colonel Ballantine, 8th September, 1821.

'I duly received your letter, which contains the misrepresentations 'of my enemies; but if it is your pleasure I will send to you the writing 'of the Muharaja to peruse, to show that my acts were at his instigation. 'In one instance I served him, and had eight or ten men and eight 'or ten horses killed and wounded. These circumstances I previously 'represented to Major Miles. The Muharaja, having deviated from the 'purport of the writing, led me to commit excesses in his pergunnahs. 'The Muharaja has since attacked and destroyed my village, to which 'I made no opposition, and he has plundered it of property to the amount 'of fifty thousand rupees. For the truth of these assertions, you may 'apply to the Muharaja of Ahmednugger, and Major Miles can also 'acquaint you with many particulars. If you find me in fault you can 'hold me responsible in any way you please. In the first instance the 'Muharaja instigated me, and then left me to abide the consequences. 'I am now in the jungles. I have eight hundred men and one hundred 'horse, who are starving, and if nothing is done for me in the case of 'my village, I must commit depredations on Eedur. Further, I am 'desirous of serving you with my men and horse, as I will not again 'serve the Muharaja.'

Teentoee. He had only twenty horsemen with him, but in a single day he would plunder as many villages as he had followers. However, when he came upon Bheels who plundered in the Eedur country, he would cut off their heads, and send them in baskets as an offering to the raja. Among the villages which he plundered, burnt, or took hostages from, were Wusâee, Bulolee, Bheelorâ, and many others; in fact, with the exception of those which had been given to bards, there was scarcely a crown village which escaped his ravages.[1]

At this time, the raja said one day in his court, 'It was I who 'gave this man power and promoted him, in return for which 'he despoils my villages. Why does he not go to some other 'state of Râjwârâ and procure a holding for himself there?' This observation was conveyed to Dheerjee, who, thereupon, went to Rânâ Shree Bheem Singh of Oodeipoor. Now Dheerjee had gained fame for himself in foreign parts on account of the valor he had displayed in his outlawry, and the Rânâ was also acquainted with him from the time that that prince had visited Eedur to be married to the sister of Gumbheer Singh. The Rânâ therefore drew out a deed for a valuable feudal holding, and gave it to Dheerjee. That chief accepted the grant, but would not receive the deed. He said, 'If I re-'main here it will be said of me that I could not recover my 'father's rights, and I shall lose my honor.' He remained at Oodeipoor four months, and then returned to the Eedur country, having placed his family at Koorâgâm in Marwar.

At this time Colonel Ballantine sent for all the Eedur chiefs to Sâdrâ, in order to arrange for the settlement of the country. There was a very general discontent among the chiefs, and several of them refused to pay the raja's dues. Some of them offered their horses to be priced, and said that they had no money, but that they were the servants of the state, and their heads were the raja's. The Koompâwuts alone made a proper

[1] *Colonel Ballantine to Government*, 22nd *March*, 1822.

'Dheerjee has gone out again in rebellion without assigning any 'cause. He is implicated in the commission of many atrocities of the 'most serious nature. He is reputed to have put to death or maimed 'fifteen or sixteen Brahmins of Bheelora, and to have committed other 'very serious aggressions.'

answer. After a month's consultation the British agent put the chiefs of Mondeytee, Teentoee, Thodurâ, and Wânkâner in irons, and forced others to give up part of their estates to the raja. Dheerjee, of Wânkâner, had been called in on the security of a bard. He came, attended by thirty-five armed followers, who were, however, dismissed by the raja; his nephew, Udjee, who was quite a youth, being alone left to attend upon him. When the government soldiers came to seize Dheerjee, Udjee slew some of them, and wounded others, and was then slain.

When the load fell on his brother,
Fell upon Dheero,
Against their enemies wielding his sword,
Udo gained an Upsura bride.
The Arabs he cut to pieces;
The enemies beneath his feet he cast;
At one blow he cleft them in twain,
At one blow, did Udo!

After he had been confined six months, Dheerjee broke his fetters, scaled the wall of the fort, and escaped. The chief of Mondeytee was detained four months, and then released, having given security, and made concessions to the raja. The chiefs of Teentoee and Thodurâ were similarly released about the same time.[1]

[1] *Colonel Ballantine's Memorandum of Dheerjee's Proceedings, 30th October*, 1823.

'Dheerjee's murder of Brahmins, and other crimes, having been 'formerly fully communicated to government, he was ordered to be 'fined, and kept in constraint, and his land to be made over to his 'nearest relative. Troops were sent to punish him, but, at this juncture, 'he sent in Bharot Damodhur Mohobut Singh to make submission, 'upon which Colonel Ballantine, when he assembled the other Sirdars 'at Dubhora to make an adjustment of securities for Guikowar tribute, '&c., sent also for Dheerjee, and informed him that he might make 'known his complaints against Gumbheer Singh. Dheerjee asked for 'safe conduct, which was, as an indulgence, procured for him from 'Gumbheer Singh. He came in, and received encouragement, and 'money was advanced to him to live on, and the settlement of the 'whole Champawut district obtained with great difficulty from Gumbheer 'Singh. Security was then demanded from him, but Dheerjee, under 'pretext of going to Dehgaum, made off, and, on the road, seized 'hostages at Wussye, murdered a Borah of Ahmednugger, harried the 'cattle of Bheelora, and committed other outrages. He now seduced

While Dheerjee remained in confinement at Baroda, he had made a vow to Shâmlâjee that he would offer valuable offerings

'Thakor Gopal Singh, then a boy residing in the Danta country, to 'join him, and Puharjee (of Thodura), and, soon after, the three com- 'bined wrote a letter, saying they would plunder the country. Dheerjee 'took to the mountains, whereupon a strict search was made after him ; 'and Bhatee Puharjee, Kunukajee, and other villains were taken, 'whereupon Dheerjee became apprehensive, and fled to Oodeipoor. 'There the Rana and his Sirdars, being ignorant of the villainies Dheerjee 'had committed, used their mediation with the resident there (Sir David 'Ochterlony), and he, to gratify the Rana, addressed a letter to Colonel 'Ballantine in Dheerjee's behalf, requesting him, for the sake of the 'Rana of Oodeipoor, to overlook Dheerjee's offences, and to make 'such a settlement for the future in his favor with Gumbheer Singh as 'should be just and proper. Colonel Ballantine, thereupon, wrote to 'the resident, calling Dheerjee to Sadra. Dheerjee, in that gentleman's 'presence (the resident's), made arrangements to come in company with 'Gopal Singh, and took leave of the resident, bearing his letter, and 'accompanied by his attendants, and a respectable servant of the 'Rana's, Pooroheet Laljee. Dheerjee had overawed Gopal Singh, and 'forced from him the resignation of a share of his land. He left Gopal 'Singh at Oodeipoor, and, on the road, robbed his servant of his jewels, 'and wherever Gopal Singh had left money or clothes in deposit Dheerjee 'seized them by force. When he arrived at Sadra, he said he was em- 'powered by Gopal Singh to act for him. He made submission to the 'political agent in the presence of Pooroheet Laljee, promising to recall 'Gopal Singh, and give security, and passing a bond to that effect, 'Kunukajee and Puharjee being securities. Dheerjee now received 'money for his subsistence, and was dismissed to return home. On 'arriving there, he petitioned for the removal of the government post 'there, which was granted. However, he did not send for Gopal Singh, 'and that chief, accidentally hearing that a settlement was in progress, 'hastened to Sadra, and made submission. Dheerjee was then summoned, 'and sent by his servant an answer, written from Ahmednugger, but 'dated Wankaner, and the servant, when asked where his master was 'said "at Beejapoor." Colonel Ballantine then applied to his securities, 'and placed Mohsuls on them and him. Dheerjee, having arrived at 'Sadra, was daily called upon by Colonel Ballantine for a settlement, 'but day after day passed without anything having been adjusted, and 'his securities having arrived, and declined further responsibility for 'him, Mohsuls were placed upon him. Dheerjee declared that unless 'these were removed he would commit suicide, and that no one could 'tell what might happen, for his men were not under his control.'

'15*th November*, 1823.

'Since the Mohsuls were placed upon Dheerjee, now ten days ago, 'his conduct has been insolent and threatening, declaring, that though

at that god's shrine if he should effect his escape. At length he escaped by climbing over the wall, and fled to the shrine, where he performed his vows. Thence he went secretly into Kâteewâr, where he purchased horses, and having mounted troopers upon them, again entered the Eedur country, and resumed his system of annoyance. Colonel Ballantine at this time set posts from village to village, but Dheerjee fell upon them at night time, and slew many of the soldiers. On one occasion, when he had seized hostages at a village he was pursued by the government troops and the Eedur horse. A deep and broad ravine came in the way, over which Dheerjee, without hesitation, leapt his mare. Then, turning round to his pursuers, he cried, 'Follow now whoever of you dares leap 'the ravine'. No one followed.

After this Lâljee, the son of the chief of Teentoee, joined Dheerjee, and the outlaws retired together to the forests of Doongurpoor, where they received shelter, and from that retreat continued to ravage the territories of Eedur.

'he wished, himself, to give the securities required, he could not answer 'for the conduct of his armed mercenaries, with whom he has continued 'to parade camp in direct violation of his word. . . . As might have 'been expected, Dheerjee contumaciously and determinedly opposed my 'measures for the reduction of his armed followers, and in the affray 'that in consequence took place, he received a wound in the back from 'one of his own people attempting to cut down an Arab. In the affray, 'also, one Arab was wounded, and two of his people, one severely, who 'has since died.'

Despatch from the Bombay government to the Court of Directors, 1st September, 1826.

'The three Thakors (Dheerjee, Kunukâjee, and Puhârjee) were 'subsequently removed to Baroda, as it was not considered safe that they 'should remain in the Myhee Kanta, it being explained to the raja '(of Eedur) that their removal to Baroda did not, in any way, affect 'the allegiance they owed him. An arrangement was also made for the 'management of their estates by their nearest relations, and a separate 'provision for themselves and their families, who were not to accompany 'them to Baroda. On the 24th September, 1824, Dheerjee effected his 'escape from Baroda, assisted by Laljee, the son of the Teentoee chief '(who remained in confinement), and began committing excesses in 'the Myhee Kanta, which led to the despatch of a light force from 'Deesa in pursuit of him.'

Now at this period the Ráwul of Doongurpoor was thirty-two years old, but he had taken it into his head that he would have no son, and that it was necessary for him to adopt one. He therefore sent for Dulput Singh, the heir of Dewulya, who was of the same descent with himself, and passed a deed appointing him his own heir. This young chief was not favorable to the outlaws, and they, perceiving the fact, lost confidence in their present situation, and removed their families to the neighbourhood of Shámlájee. However they continued themselves to reside in the Doongurpoor country, and to plunder Eedurwârâ. Upon this, the young chief secretly offered to reward any one who would give him a sight of the outlaws. Once on a time, Dheerjee and Lâljee came to a village in the Râwul's country, Dheerjee being in distress and suffering from inflammation of the eyes. They procured a person to get ready dinner for them there. The heir of Doongurpoor, becoming aware of their arrival, set off with a hundred horse, who, when they reached the village, began to beat the royal drum. Dheerjee and Lâljee, hearing the sound, mounted their horses and fled; the Doongurpoor horse pursued them, and came in sight of them. They cried to the outlaws, 'What is this, are 'you Rajpoots, and do you run away?' Dheerjee said, 'You 'are many, and we are but two; at this time it is necessary 'to fly;' his companion, however, began to slacken the speed of his horse, and meanwhile the Doongurpoor men came up with him. Lâljee's horse now pulled up, and would not move a step. An Arab struck the horse a blow on the back with his sword, receiving at the same moment a blow from Lâljee's sword. Another horseman thrust at Lâljee with his lance, but he avoided the blow, and ran the assailant through, so that he died. As his horse would not move, he now dismounted, and, after killing two more of his assailants, was himself slain. Dheerjee, meanwhile, had galloped off, supposing that Lâljee was following him.[1]

[1] A force under Major Thomas advanced to Doongurpoor in pursuit of the outlaws, and carried the fort on the 11th March, 1825. Lâljee was killed by the young chief of Doongurpoor in the month of June following, a deed at which his adopted father was much incensed.—*English Records.*

Afterwards, whenever it was known that Dheerjee had procured refreshment at any one's house, fifty of the government horse would immediately put up there, and annoy the inhabitants very much. Once Dheerjee came to a village of his own, which was near to a bard's village, upon which the raja, suspecting the bard, quartered two horsemen upon him. Dheerjee, when he heard this, went suddenly to the village, and attacked the horsemen, of whom one was slain by him, but the other escaped. The bard immediately began to employ means of intimidation against the outlaw chief; he wounded his own arm and his thigh, and thrust a dagger through the throat of an old woman of his family. When the raja heard of the attack upon the horsemen he declared that it must have been instigated by the bard, and therefore ordered a force against his village, but on further enquiry the true state of the case was discovered.

Dheerjee now carefully avoided entering even the lands of one of his friend's villages, indeed of avowed friends he possessed not one. He fixed his residence in the Mewar hills, but continued his harassing incursions, which he carried as far as Puttun, attacking the government troops, and carrying off cattle and hostages from the villages. Afterwards, he directed his attacks against the country about Râeegurh. He continued in outlawry altogether about fourteen years. At length, in the year A.D. 1827, while he was hiding among the Eedur hills, he had received a supply of gunpowder from his friends, and spread it out upon a cloth to dry, when a spark falling from the matchlock of one of his mercenaries, the powder exploded, and he thus received injuries of which he died. At the time of his death he was about forty-five years of age. Dheerjee was short in stature and spare in person. His deeds of outlawry have won him greater fame than has been gained by any chief of Eedur, and his exploits are celebrated throughout the Myhee Kântâ in the songs of the women as well as in the stanzas of the bard.

At the time of Dheerjee's death, his family were in the Marwar country. One of his two wives (who was of the Chowra clan) on receiving from his servant the turban which he had worn, burned herself on the funeral pile with that relic of her

husband. She left no child. The other widow, with an infant son and daughter, returned to Wânkâner.[1]

[1] All attempts on the part of the British authorities to apprehend the outlawed chief had proved fruitless, a fact which the government of Bombay mainly attributed to the almost general connivance of the chiefs in the Myhee Kântâ in his depredations. The resident at Baroda was therefore directed to offer terms to Dheerjee, and to promise that his grievances should be investigated, and those which proved reasonable redressed. Mr. Willoughby, who was then in charge of the residency, opened a communication accordingly with the outlaw, but while it was in progress, news arrived of the death of Dheerjee, which was reported by that gentleman on the 6th August, 1827. The chief of Wânkâner survived the accident which led to his death six days, and on finding his end approaching, directed one of his Rajpoot followers to communicate the facts to Mr. Willoughby, and request that care might be taken of his family.

CHAPTER XIII

MUHÂRÂJÂ GUMBHEER SINGH OF EEDUR

PRINCE OOMED SINGH died of small-pox in A. D. 1824, at the age of twenty-seven. Two of his wives followed him to the pile; they were daughters of the Chohân chief of Dhurol, and the Chowra of Mânsâ. A concubine also became a sutee. The prince had two other Rânees, upon whom the desire of accompanying their lord to Paradise did not come. They were daughters of the Rajas of Wânswârâ and Dewulyâ, and retired as widows to their fathers' houses.

The giver of gifts to bards, of lands, of elephants, of horses,
Was Gumbheer's son, whose mind was filled with wisdom.
Desiring him, the Chohânee and the Chowree
Went to obtain the royal seat of the lord of the Devs.
A thorn to his enemies, the conqueror of the Mahrattas,
Who extinguished his flame-like foes by the strength of his arm,
Whose face was resplendent as the day-bringing sun,
Such was Lâl, with whom to Paradise went the sutees.
Huree [1] worked an evil work in the world,
The hope of the bards had not been fully satisfied.
The crown among Rânees, the Râthor took with him.
They became Upsuras! Oomed became Indra!

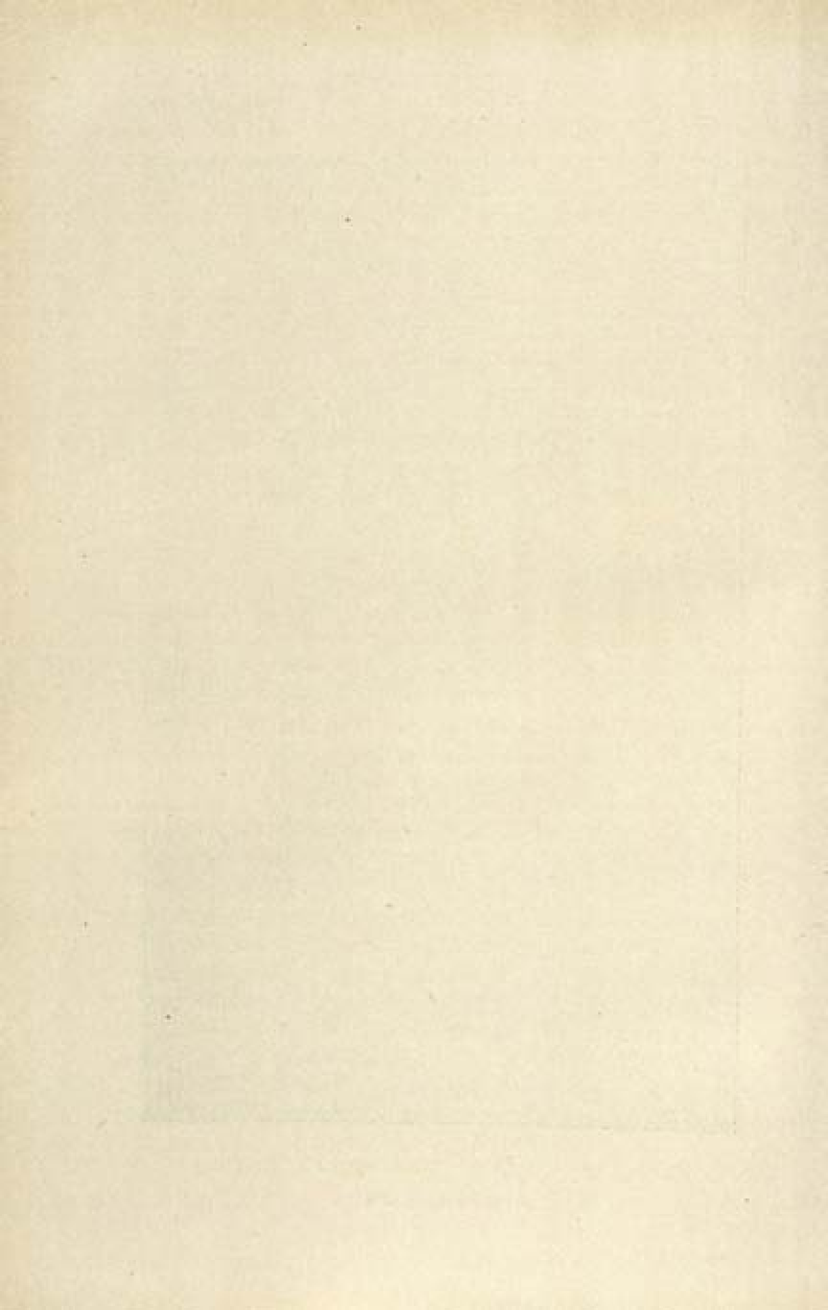
The horse-hair fans were waving of the Chohânee's lord,
He who was the wealth of bards. To attain to fame,
The heir of Jodhâ's race passed with his Rânees
To Indra's mansion—did the Sun of the Hindoos!
As long as sun and moon remain, the descendant of Guj Singh
Shall enjoy the great throne. So is it fit!
Indra's seat enjoyed to the full, in bright form,
To Vishnoo's eternal heaven he shall pass.

A Brahmin of Eedur was so deeply distressed when he heard of the prince's death, from thinking of what would become of the state, that he dashed his head against a grain jar, and dislodged a heavy weight lying on it, which fell upon him, and killed him. The raja granted to his son the village

[1] Vishnoo.



RAJPOOT FUNERAL MONUMENT BESIDE A RESERVOIR



of Mâtâsool, which he had taken from the Koompâwuts, and which still remains in the Brahmin's possession.[1]

After this, in A. D. 1829, Gopâl Singh, the chief of Mhow, went out in rebellion, because the raja had struck the villages of his estate. He retired with about twenty horsemen he had with him to his village of Cheetror. A trader of that place had died, and one of the merchants of Eedur, with his wife and family, had come hither to his funeral feast. They remained four nights, and then, taking leave of the chief, set out home, forming, altogether, a party of a hundred persons. The Cheetror traders escorted them for a certain distance, and then turned back, but Gopâl Singh followed the strangers with his men, and, seizing the whole of them, carried them off to the hills. When the news was brought to Eedur, the merchants of the town set off in a body, with loud cries, to the palace. The raja, peeping out of an upper window, said, 'What is it?' The merchants answered, 'Our people went 'to a feast, and have all been seized and carried off from the 'place by Gopâl Singh. What is it that you, our master, 'have done? If there were any master over our heads, could 'such a thing happen?' Then the raja said, 'Your master 'sleeps beside the Rumulesur tank.[2] What master have you? 'I am an old man.' However, he collected his forces, and made an expedition as far as Mhow and Cheetror, from whence he returned without success. The traders now began again to raise a howling, and to complain of the calamities they suffered, for it was suspected that Gopâl Singh had violated the honor of the women who were his prisoners. The raja then took the turban from his head, and tied a cloth round it and said,—'When I recover your hostages, I will 'reassume my turban.' However, mentally he vowed that it should not be until Gopâl Singh was slain. Now, that chief released the traders on receiving ransom for them, and himself

[1] Colonel Ballantine reports, on the 17th May, 1824, 'the death of the 'only son of the Raja of Eedur;' and, on the 27th, writes, in continuation, that 'three females, the wives of Laljee Saheb, accompanied the 'body as sutees to the pile and were burned. Gumbheer Singh is suffering 'from the deepest affliction.'

[2] Alluding to Prince Oomed Singh, whose funeral pyre was erected by the side of that reservoir.

living in the Mhow hills with his family, made inroads upon the Eedur country. At length the raja, having assembled an army, encamped at Bhuvnâth, near Mhow, and sent for Dâmodhur Mohobut Singh, the bard, whom he offered as security to Gopâl Singh. The chief of Mhow came in, and was most warmly received by the raja, who, after they had drank opium together, said, 'You are my son, who is there 'of mine equal to you? when I see you I rejoice as if it were 'Oomed Singh that I beheld.' Having talked to him in this way, he replaced him in Mhow. However after this, the raja continually said, 'I have no relish for my food, unless I behold 'Gopâl Singh.' Thus saying he sent for him to Eedur.

In A. D. 1830, the raja set out with his retinue to travel through his country, at which time it was that he seized upon Bud Singh, the chief of Kherod, in the Poseenâ district, and threw him into irons. It happened thus :—

The chief of Hurâd-Poseenâ died in A. D. 1828, leaving a son, named Purwut Singh, who had attained the age of eighteen, but was an effeminate youth. His two nearest relations were Jâmut Singh and Bud Singh. The former wished to place the rightful heir upon the cushion, but the object of the latter was to seat himself there. However, as he found no means of effecting this object, Bud Singh came to Eedur, and said to the raja, 'If you will place me on the 'cushion of Poseenâ, I will pass a deed resigning a fourth of 'the estate to you.' The raja agreed to this offer. The matter, however, came to the knowledge of the young chief and Jâmut Singh, and they also went to the raja and said, 'It is 'not customary to place a distant relation on the cushion, 'when there is a son existing.' The raja said, 'He promises 'to pass a fourth share to me, therefore it is him that I will 'seat.' They saw there was no other remedy, so they also said they would pass a fourth share. Gumbheer Singh, however, said, 'A fourth share is what he offers me. What more 'than this do you offer that I should seat you on the cushion?' At length, after much discussion, the young chief passed a deed resigning a third share of the estate, and Jâmut Singh set off to Poseenâ, at the raja's order, to place him on the cushion. Bud Singh, however, when he was gone, offered to

resign a six-anna share,[1] upon which the order was sent, 'Return hither without placing the chief's son on the cushion.' Jâmut Singh returned. Then the raja said, 'Bud Singh offers 'six annas, therefore Budjee has the cushion.' The contest went on in this way for two months, and at last, the young chief resigned half the estate. Then the raja sent the Prince of Soor with fifty matchlocks and fifty horse, an elephant, royal drums, and silver rod, to seat the chief's son on the cushion, and at the same time to receive charge of the half-share that had been passed to him. The prince went accordingly, and placed Purwut Singh on the cushion. Bud Singh, upon this, went to his own house at Kherod to live there, and began to injure the villages of the Poseenâ estate, upon which the new chief complained at Eedur. The raja sent for Bud Singh to Eedur, but he did not obey the summons, being afraid that he would be put to death. Hostages were then given him, and he came, but was still distrustful of the raja. At this time, a minister of the Seerohee state happened to be at Eedur on some business. Bud Singh went and lodged with him. The raja sent for him to the court and reprimanded him on this account, but Bud Singh paid no heed. The raja then determined upon seizing him, but deferred doing so lest the Seerohee minister might oppose him. Bud Singh was, therefore, lectured and dismissed, and, going home, set to work exactly as before to do all the harm he could to the Poseenâ estate. The raja again sent for him, giving him security, but the chief declined visiting Eedur again. How-

[1] With Hindoos everything is divided into annas, or sixteenths of a rupee. In Wales a similar custom still prevails. The registrar of the Bristol District Court of Bankruptcy was sitting in November, 1855, at New Quay, Cardiganshire, taking the examination of several witnesses in the matter of the bankruptcy of Thomas Davies, shipbuilder of that port. Most of the witnesses were Welsh people, and the subject of the inquiry being the extent of the bankrupt's interest in a certain vessel, some surprise was created by the witnesses speaking of their shares in the vessel as a matter of weight. The mystery was solved by the interpreter, in this way:—A vessel about to be built, is divided into sixty-four shares, the total being taken by the owners to represent a pound avoirdupois. Thus, the owner of four sixty-fourths, is said to have an ounce; of two sixty-fourths, half-an-ounce; of one sixty-fourth, a quarter of an ounce; and so on in proportion.

ever, Gumbheer Singh corrupted the chief's two ministers (a Brahmin and a bard), by promising to give them each a village, if they would persuade their master to revisit the court. Bud Singh was thus enticed to Eedur, where the raja received him with the greatest respect, and caused him to be brought into the presence, overcoming his first suspicions by continued attentions. Meanwhile, a Sindhi officer, named Meroo, was directed to seize him, which task he accordingly effected while Bud Singh was on the way from his lodgings to the court. Meroo carried the chief to his quarters, and there put him in irons.

Now, when the raja set off on his tour in A. D. 1830, Bud Singh was carried with him as a prisoner; but two months afterwards, on some change of policy, he was allowed to furnish security, and was then released, his lands of Kherod being restored to him, to be held free of all claims on the part of the crown, and satisfaction being otherwise afforded him. However, Bud Singh, when he reached home, sent for the two ministers, and having put them off their guard by kind usage, he first cut off the Brahmin's head, which he threw to the dogs that they might crunch it, and then attempted to destroy the bard also. This latter, however, made his escape.

The raja left Eedur with his cavalcade, attended by Kurun Singh, the prince of Ahmednugger, Gopâl Singh, chief of Mhow, and the whole of the nobles. At this time the two chiefs above-mentioned, with Jhâlum Singh, of Mondeytee, came to a private decision that the force should move upon Pâlya, with the chief of which place they were at feud; the raja and his minister, Durjun Singh, had, on the other hand, planned an expedition against the Rehwurs. On Gumbheer Singh's announcing his intentions, the three chiefs pretended acquiescence, and remained in person with the raja, but sent their cavalry contingents on in advance, and struck Pâlya before the raja's arrival, burning all the dwellings in the town. Mohobut Singh, the chief of that place, took to the hills; and this chief indeed was not the man to take to flight, but it was because he supposed himself to be attacked by his master's troops that he fled. When the raja came up, and

found the town a heap of smouldering ruins, he rebuked the three chiefs very earnestly. The camp was then pitched in the lands of Pâlya. Mohobut Singh, its chief, however, lost no time, but raising a large force of Bheels, blocked up the road by which the army was to retire. Meanwhile the army remained in its position, subsisting upon the spoils of the town of Pâlya. Durjun Singh's troops committed no act of hostility; but the three confederated chiefs plundered and burnt even the outlying villages, much to the annoyance of Gumbheer Singh. At this time news arrived that a string of camels laden with property, belonging to a banker who was with the army, had been plundered by the Bheels on its way from Eedur, and that the wild robbers had wounded both the camel-men and their animals. At the same time came a message from Mohobut Singh, of Pâlya, who protested that the raja had struck his village without any just pretence, for that his revenue had been regularly paid, and threatened that he would make it a difficult matter for the army to get home again. Upon this the raja sent to say that he had no intention of striking Pâlya, and that the result had been brought about by the three chiefs. Mohobut Singh rejoined, 'I could have given them an answer; but why was 'it that your highness took the pains to accompany them?' The raja then sent for him to an interview, but the chief refused to attend, and Gumbheer Singh was at length compelled to agree that when Pâlya should be rebuilt no revenue should be demanded from the chief for two years. Upon this the raja struck his camp, and the event having displeased him, he proceeded no further with his tour, but returned to Eedur, and disbanded his army.

The raja, however, retained Gopâl Singh near him. Now there was a deadly feud between Gopâl Singh and Durjun Singh, the Prudhân. The raja said, therefore, to the former, 'It is my intention to make you minister of Eedur; and, 'what is more, if you can keep a secret I have one for your 'ear.' Gopâl Singh promised secrecy, and the raja whispered, 'I want Durjun Singh put out of the way.' Gopâl Singh said, 'Is it truth that you are speaking, or do you merely ridi-'cule me?' 'It is nothing but truth,' said the raja. 'Then

'give me your oath.' The oath was given. Gopâl Singh now asked permission to go home to Mhow, and not only received it, but was also loaded with presents. He went accordingly; and on his return to Eedur, the raja received him affectionately, and made him a present of the sword and shield which had been worn by the late Prince Oomed Singh. Many people, however, who observed all that was going on, warned Gopâl Singh that the raja would some day play him false. 'Re-'collect,' said they, 'how Bhowânee Singh deceived Soorujmul, 'of Chândunee, to his death, and how he treacherously slew 'the young chief of Merâsun. It is the very rule of their 'house to do such things as these.' Gopâl Singh, however, paid no attention to these warnings. Even when his own father-in-law, Puhârjee, of Todhurâ, entreated him to beware, he refused to believe, and said, 'It was with such bugbears as 'these that Kunukâjee and Dheerjee were kept at a distance 'from the court. You want me to believe them that you may 'keep me away, too.'

After this, Gopâl Singh's mother having died, he procured, with much entreaty from the raja, leave to visit Mhow, in order to perform her obsequies. At home, too, many people said to him, 'Do not go back to Eedur;' but he paid no attention to the advice of any one. His step-mother and his wife then arranged, so that when he prepared to go to Eedur he was met outside the village by a string of women carrying black and broken water-vessels, and by other ill omens. Nevertheless the chief went his way to Eedur.

Many days after this, in the year A.D. 1831, the raja, having first administered a solemn oath of secrecy to the Kusbâtees who were in his service, said to them, 'You must put Gopâl 'Singh to death this day.' Not one of them would, however, agree to undertake the task. The raja then sent for Meroo, the Sindhi, and having sworn him to secrecy in the same way, procured his consent to the deed. The day before, the raja had said to Gopâl Singh, 'To-morrow is the feast of Shiv-'râtree; so you must come early in the morning, and then 'we will manage what we have settled about killing Durjun 'Singh.' In the morning, therefore, Gopâl Singh got up, bathed, took his breakfast, and having made himself ready,

went to the foot of the palace stairs, and sent word to the raja that he was arrived. The door-keeper, then, according to the usual custom, received from him his arms. Now Meroo and his soldiers, with their matchlocks loaded, were ready to kill Gopâl Singh, and whatever men of good character, or whatever friends of the chief's party were about the court, had been sent away, on one pretence or another, into distant parts of the country. Gopâl Singh having arrived at the palace, the raja sent for him into the apartments of the elder Rânee,[1] where he was seated in state, having caused carpets and cushions to be spread. When dinner-time came, and a dish was brought in for the raja, he said to the chief, 'Do you, too, sit down, and dine with me.' Gopâl Singh excused himself; but with much urgency was prevailed upon to sit down. After dinner the raja presented betel-nut to him. At this time his father-in-law drew him on one side, and said to him, 'I fear much that it is designed to put you to death 'this very day. Remember, I have married to you my 'daughter, who is now only fourteen years old, and for her 'sake I implore you to take means for saving your life.' Gopâl Singh only made answer, 'You are entertaining a groundless 'suspicion.' Then the father-in-law, pretending that he went to smoke a hookah, got away with great difficulty to his lodging, and mounting his horse, gallopped off for his life. The Sindhi officer thereupon increased his precautions, and rendered it impossible for any one else to make his escape.

At this time the raja gave orders to a servant to bring him a bottle of perfume. When it was brought he said it was not the one he wanted. This was repeated several times, and at last the raja rose under pretence of procuring for himself the scent he required, and went out. The door was immediately locked behind him, and he whispered to the Sindhi, 'Now if 'he escape, your head must answer for his.' The reply was a volley fired into the room where the chief was from the windows on each of the four sides. Gopâl Singh had twelve attendants with him who threw themselves before their chief,

[1] Her name was Dolut Koonwerbâ, and she was the daughter of the Bhâtee chief of Oshwâ, in Marwar, a cadet of Jesulmer. She perished as a sutee upon the death of her husband.

but as the bullets poured in they fell dead one after the other, and he himself received many wounds. The raja then showed himself and said, 'Ah! Gopâl, tell me was it right of you to 'carry off the Eedur traders? now show us what strength 'you can put forth; see, here are two swords for you to 'wear, take them!' So saying, he threw two swords into the room. Now, Gopâl Singh cried out with a loud voice to the Rânee, and said, 'I am in your palace, under your pro-'tection.' The Rânee upon this went to the raja and said, 'If you slay Gopâl Singh after what has happened, I will die 'along with him.' The raja said, 'If I leave him alive now 'he will slay me.' 'Let precautions be taken,' replied she, 'of whatever strictness you please, but his life must be 'spared.' All the night and next day Gopâl Singh was allowed to remain where he was. When night came round again he determined he would make an attempt to clamber over the palace wall and escape. With this intention he went out and was immediately cut down by the sentinel on guard, and died. After this, outcastes were sent for, and the corpses were by their means dragged into the yard of the palace. The raja ordered the outcastes to cut the bodies into pieces that the kites might eat them. When the principal merchants of the place heard of this intention, they came to the palace and said, 'Muhârâj! you have punished those who had offended, 'you have no longer any quarrel with these lumps of earth; 'allow them to be burned.' The corpses were upon this placed together in a cart, and removed to the funeral ground, where they were consumed by fire, and after this the inhabitants of the palace broke their fast, for since Gopâl Singh had entered it no one had tasted a mouthful of food. The chief of Mhow left two sons, Bhârut Singh and Purwut Singh, of whom the elder was, at the time of his father's death, only seven years old. The followers of the slain chief, with his children and the other members of his family, fled to the mountains on hearing of the catastrophe at Eedur. Then the raja marched towards Mhow, and, having encamped near it, sent to call in the children of Gopâl Singh, and replaced them in their inheritance.

NOTE.—We have not met with, in the English records, any mention of the fate of Gopâl Singh, of Mhow. There had been no resident political agent in the Myhee Kântâ, since the withdrawal of Lieutenant Colonel Ballantine, and, under these circumstances, a deed of this nature was only too likely to have been concealed from, or misrepresented to, the British authorities. All that is upon the records in relation to Raja Gumbheer Singh tends to strengthen the belief that such a crime, upon his part, was by no means unlikely. The treachery of his disposition is still notorious in the Eedur country, and is indicated by many other actions recorded by the bards. In A. D. 1821, Major Miles thus wrote of Raja Gumbheer Singh :—'The character of the present Raja of 'Eedur is represented by the natives to be a mixture of craft, 'inconstancy, and deceit. He is reputed to be quite indifferent 'to persons' merits and means, provided he can obtain his 'object. His want of faith is proverbial, and there is scarce 'a man in the Eedur territory, I am told, who would take his 'oath as the most trifling security for the performance of his 'promise or engagement. In the management of his revenue 'he is said to be profuse and improvident ; he, however, uses 'every means in his power to cheat his creditors and soldiery. 'He is completely in the hands of the Brahmins and Gosaees, 'who advance money at enormous rates of interest, and 'absorb his revenues by anticipation. This bad character is, 'doubtless, justified in some particulars, but seems exaggerated 'in others. The raja appears a man of abilities, with a peculiar 'turn for intrigue and artifice. His knowledge of man-'kind has made him superior to most of his ministers and 'connections, and, as they frequently find themselves no 'match for him in the management of politics, they are more 'willing to cast the blame on his dissimulation than to allow 'any want of parts or foresight in themselves. Again, his 'character must be considered with reference to his situation 'and the persons by whom he is surrounded, and with whom 'he has to contend.' Making every allowance, however, it must, we fear, be admitted that Raja Gumbheer Singh was a rare and consummate hypocrite, who exhibited, in perfection, the mixture of craft and cruelty which, among Rajpoots,

is attributed as a distinguishing characteristic to the Râthor race. With the Glo'ster of Shakspeare he, too, might have thus soliloquised—

> Why I can smile, and murther whiles I smile :
> And cry content to that which grieves my heart ;
> And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,
> And frame my face to all occasions.[1]

[1] [3 *Henry VI*, III. ii. 182–5.]

CHAPTER XIV

MUHÂRÂJÂ GUMBHEER SINGH OF EEDUR

Jhâlum Singh succeeded his father, Ude Singh, in the estate of Mondeytee,[1] about the year A. D. 1804. The chief of Gotâ, the brother of the late chief of Mondeytee, dying, and leaving no son, Jhâlum Singh purposed to assign the estate which thus fell to him to his son, Oomed Singh, whose mother was a daughter of the Chowra chief of Wursorâ. As, however, the estate was held under a separate grant from the crown, it was necessary that the raja should receive the young chief's obeisance on his installation. Jhâlum Singh sent his minister accordingly to Eedur, and the raja, giving his assent to the scheme, intimated his readiness to proceed to Mondeytee whenever a day should be appointed for the purpose of binding the turban of investiture upon Oomed Singh's head, and granting to him the right of receiving the royal embrace. On the appointed day Prince Oomed Singh repaired, as his father's representative, to Mondeytee. However, the prince had been betrothed to the lady Golâb Koonwerbâ, the daughter of Jhâlum Singh by his Râthor wife, and sister of the whole blood to Soorujmul and Sher Singh. The mother of his affianced bride, therefore, prevailed upon him to invest his brother-in-law, Sher Singh, instead of the son of the Chowra lady, an act which was the seed of much future calamity, and produced a bitter enmity between Jhâlum Singh and his Râthor wife and her sons, as well as between that chief and his sovereign.

Sher Singh took up his residence at Gotâ. His village of Rutunpoor marched with the Wulâsun chief's village of Khâskee, and both parties had posts of armed men in these places. In the rains a dispute arose between the cultivators of the two villages in regard to the boundary. They were separated for the time, but both parties went to their masters

[1] [Mondeti was granted to Mān Singh Chohān by the Mahārājā Shivsingh in 1741. *Vide*, p. 132, *supra*.]

to complain. Each chief made the same reply,—'If you had 'been men you would have fought it out.' Next day, therefore, when the cultivators drove their ploughs to the disputed boundary, they took arms in their hands, and a fight ensued. One man was killed on Sher Singh's side, and others were wounded; on the other side there were many men wounded. When the chief of Gotâ heard of the result, he went to his father at Mondeytee, and begged for assistance, adding that if he should not receive it he would go to Wulâsun, and maintain the fight to the death, though there was a numerous garrison in that place. Jhâlum Singh upon this assembled his men, and in person led them to Wulâsun, and a contest ensued. The chief of Mondeytee sent to the Raja of Eedur, who offered to supply him with money and mercenaries, and dismissed his messenger with the remark that if the Wulâsun chief were victorious, the Marwaree honor would be gone, and he would some day make himself master of Mondeytee as well. The chief of Wulâsun sent also to beg for succour because half his estate belonged to the raja, but Gumbheer Singh made him a reply similar to that which he had made to Jhâlum Singh; in fact, he would have been equally glad whichever way victory should be decided, provided only that one party or the other were a loser. Now there lived at Wulâsun a female ascetic who wore male attire, and assumed the male name of Mândâs. She was famous as a negotiator, and in that capacity she came to Eedur and stated in a boasting style, in the raja's presence, that the men of Wulâsun had driven away the Marwarees in a manner much to the disgrace of the latter. Durjun Singh, the Prudhân, who was seated in court at the time, was much stung at this remark, because his own son and his brother were with the chief of Mondeytee. He wrote to Jhâlum Singh to say that he had better never show his face at Eedur again than come back without striking Wulâsun. He proffered at the same time a supply of money. The day before his letter reached Wulâsun a skirmish had taken place, but a neighbouring chief had come between the combatants. When the Prudhân's letter arrived, Jhâlum Singh attacked the place in earnest, and plundered and burnt it, carrying off prisoners and cattle, and leaving the chief of Khâskee dead

on the field. There was an end of the matter for the time, and the Marwarees returned home. The power of the British has prevented the Wulâsun people from balancing the feud since, but they say that whenever that power shall be withdrawn they will have their revenge upon Mondeytee.

In A. D. 1820 the last of a collateral line of the Chohân clan died, and his villages were claimed by Raja Gumbheer Singh, on the ground that as they had been granted separately from the estate of Mondeytee they should now revert to the crown. Jhâlum Singh, however, refused his consent to this arrangement, and threatened to go out in rebellion. It was about this time that Colonel Ballantine was engaged in settling the Eedur country. Jhâlum Singh was confined by him, and regained his liberty four months after on condition of resigning the disputed estate, making other concessions to the raja, and giving security for his good behaviour during the next ten years.[1]

[1] The following occurs in a general report by Colonel Ballantine, dated 'Sadra, 15th October, 1822 :'—

'The conduct of this chief (Jhâlum Singh, of Mondeytee) was brought 'to the notice of government in my report of 7th April last, and his 'defection proved. The chief has since compromised his differences 'with Eedur by fine, and has been restored, and has received his puttah 'afresh. . . . Each puttawut has his zillayuts, whose footing is the same 'as his own with the raja. They enjoy lands for service, and have, of 'course, been included in these arrangements. In this puttah are four 'zillayuts, but the lands of the zillayuts are also the gift of Eedur, and 'therefore obtain a similar claim and footing (*sic. orig.*). It is thus 'accounted for :—On the establishment of the present dynasty the 'ancestors of the present zillayuts were the followers, relations, or 'partizans, of the raja's puttawuts, and received from Eedur provision 'lands under virtually similar tenure. The puttawut cannot dispossess, 'but commands the services of, his zillayuts, and the only distinction 'is, they render separate securities to their immediate superiors, who 'are thereby distinctly responsible for them. . . . This chief is allied to 'Gumbheer Singh. His daughter is married to Oomed Singh, the heir 'apparent, but the connection seems rather to have produced discord 'than union. Jhâlum Singh is himself married to the daughter of the 'Row of Pol, and has by her a son, his heir, Soorujmul. The son and 'mother have been long at variance with him. For some time they 'took refuge at Eedur, and Gumbheer Singh appears to have interested 'himself to obtain Soorujmul and his mother a subsistence with no avail. 'Jhâlum Singh resented this, and was actually going into rebellion

In A. D. 1826, the chief of Gorul died, leaving only a daughter, named Chând, who was married to the Raja Gumbheer Singh. The raja proclaimed that his father-in-law had given him the village as the dowry of his bride, and that he intended to place a garrison there, and either annex the estate to the crown, or give it to the rânee for her pin-money. The chief's widow was disposed to acquiesce in this arrangement, as the raja promised her an income from the estate. However, Jhâlum Singh, of Mondeytee, asserted that he was the adopted son of the deceased, and so saying, he shaved his moustache, and proceeded to perform the obsequies which the raja had been desirous of performing. Gumbheer Singh was afraid of driving him out into rebellion, and determined therefore to humour him for the present, and wait for an opportunity. Thus the Gorul estate fell to Mondeytee. A year afterwards, Jhâlum Singh said to his eldest son, Soorujmul, 'It was my 'original intention to have given the estate of Gotâ to Oomed 'Singh, but your mother caused that to be given to your 'brother, Sher Singh. I will, therefore, give this estate of 'Gorul to Oomed Singh.' Soorujmul did not agree to this, and Jhâlum Singh, on his refusal, flew into a passion, and went off immediately to the court of Mân Singh, Raja of Jodhpoor, where he remained six months.[1] However, he was not successful in obtaining service there, and he found his own expenses,

'at the time I summoned him. The son has since gone into service at 'Seerohee, and the mother has returned to Pol.'

[1] On the 24th of December, 1826, Colonel Ballantine thus writes to the resident at Baroda :—

'I have, also, on this occasion, been requested by Gumbheer Singh 'and Koonwer Soorujmul, of Mondeytee, to bring to the notice of 'government, that Thakor Jhâlum Singh has for some time past quitted 'Mondeytee, and is reported to have taken refuge with Raja Man Singh, 'of Jodhpoor. The Thakor was also last year, for the most part, at 'Kotah, and has there taken service for his second son. The reason 'assigned for this is family disputes, and a wish on the part of the chief 'to disinherit Soorujmul, his eldest son and heir.' Colonel Ballantine accordingly recommended that Soorujmul should be installed 'in the 'vacant estate.' The resident, however, thought that it would be sufficient if the *management* were entrusted to Soorujmul on his father's behalf. This latter proposition was approved by the government of Bombay, and the arrangement was carried into effect in April, 1827, but annulled in the following June.

and those of Oomed Singh, who was with him, growing heavy, so he went from Jodhpoor to Kotah. At this latter place, he obtained service, and there he remained for a year. Jhâlum Singh had hoped that when he went away Soorujmul would have followed him, and acquiesced in his wishes, but such was not the case. His son remained at Mondeytee, and administered the affairs of the larger portion of the estate, three villages only being in the hands of Jhâlum Singh's servants. At the end of the year, therefore, the chief returned to the Eedur country, and sent to tell Soorujmul that unless Gorul were given to Oomed Singh, he was determined to resign the whole estate into the hands of the raja. Soorujmul paid no attention to this threat, and his father at last began to entertain mercenaries. When Soorujmul received intelligence of this step, he wrote to his father, to ask why he was assembling men, and to say that the estate of Mondeytee might be given to any one he pleased, for that he himself had determined on retiring to Bhownugger, or elsewhere, to procure service. The chief wrote in reply, offering to give his son two villages for the present, and assuring him of the succession to the whole estate on his own death, but demanding that he should in the meantime retire from Mondeytee. Soorujmul refused his consent, and went off in anger to Ahmednugger, where he assembled three hundred matchlock men, and such of his father's vassals as were on his side. In March, 1829, he came at midnight with his troops to the neighbourhood of Nâdree, where his father was, and having given strict orders that not a gun should be fired, prepared to surprise the village. However, the troops as soon as they approached the place fired a volley, and the arrival of Soorujmul thus becoming known, he was opposed by his father's followers, while Jhâlum Singh himself, conceiving the attacking party to be stronger than his own could engage with safety, retreated with his Chowra lady, and having placed her in security at a village in the Dântâ territory, fled himself to the hills. Soorujmul now took possession of Nâdree, and placed a garrison there. He then returned to Moondeytee, and made it again his residence.

It being now five years since the death of Prince Oomed

Singh, the raja himself demanded in marriage the lady Goolâb, Soorujmul's sister, who had been betrothed to his son. The chief of Mondeytee and his Râthor wife were neither of them pleased at this proposal, as the raja was now an old man, but Soorujmul agreed to give his sister to Gumbheer Singh, on condition of receiving his support against his father. When Jhâlum Singh was driven to the hills, it occurred to him that Soorujmul would seize the opportunity for marrying his sister to the raja. He wrote privately, therefore, to the lady's mother, to send her to him that he might arrange her marriage with a suitable husband. The young lady was sent accordingly, and her father caused her to be married to the chief of Sulânâ, a cadet of Rutlâm.

Jhâlum Singh had, by this time, collected six hundred Arab and Mukrânee matchlock men, with whom he soon after made a night attack upon Nâdree. Kânjee, the captain of Soorujmul's garrison, however, fought with great bravery, and repulsed the assailants.

'Like an angry tiger came on the son of Udmâl;
'But Kâneeo, like a black snake, kept hold of Nâdree.'

Jhâlum Singh retired to a position among the hills, where a thick forest sheltered his men, having, in his retreat, set fire to one of Soorujmul's villages. A few days afterwards he prepared to attack Mondeytee, where his son himself lay with a small garrison. The young chief's spies, however, informed him of his father's advance, and he wrote immediately to his agent at Eedur to call upon the raja for his promised assistance. Gumbheer Singh agreed to comply with the call, and assembled troops. All that day, however, wore away, and next day the raja moved with his troops in a northerly direction, intimating to the agent that it was his intention to interpose between Jhâlum Singh and Mondeytee. That chief had, however, attacked the place on the preceding night. Soorujmul's men were protected by the buildings, and under their fire thirty-five of the assailants fell, but six of his small garrison, who defended a round tower, which contained the ammunition, were destroyed by its explosion. The young chief himself was wounded in the hand with a matchlock ball, but he retained possession of the town. Next day, one of the neighbouring

chiefs came up, and some of the inhabitants of Mondeytee went out to Jhâlum Singh, and persuaded him to come to an agreement with his son, for that his face would be blackened in case Soorujmul were killed, and it was thus at length arranged that Soorujmul should surrender Mondeytee, on condition that two villages were assigned to him during his father's lifetime, and that the succession was secured to him. The young chief, upon this, taking his mother with him, quitted Mondeytee for the villages which were assigned to him, and Jhâlum Singh re-entered his town.

Soorujmul, however, for fear of his father, began at once to look out for a more secure place of retirement, but none of the chiefs would receive him. He retired to Koowâwoo, where there is a mansion, enclosed within a fortified wall. The village belonged to bards, who were not pleased at the presence of such a visitor. Soorujmul pacified them by saying that it was not his intention to remain a longer time than should suffice for his recovery from his wound. However, at this time, the raja happened to come into the neighbourhood, and the bards went to him, and obtained his written permission to their allowing Soorujmul to remain. The chief stayed, therefore, at the bards' village for a considerable period, and at length, leaving his family there, went to Ahmednugger, and took service with Raja Kurun Singh, who gave him a village and a pair of kettle-drums.

In the year A.D. 1833, Raja Gumbheer Singh became a Dev. Fourteen Rânees became sutees with his corpse, but the mother of the present raja, Jowân Singh, remained alive to rear her infant son.

> Many stars fell to the earth,
> The earth quaked,
> Cows lowed in the night time,
> Terribly sounded their cry.
> Indra poured down little rain,
> Hail fell from the sky,
> Clouds obscured the face of the sun,
> Gusts of wind blew :
> From these omens they prophesied
> That a great man would fall :
> Then died the raja of the race of the sun ! [1]

[1] The earthquakes and the fall of meteors here mentioned were actual

Gumbheer raja fell,
Whose splendour among Hindoos was unbroken.

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occurrences. A.D. 1833 was a year of uncommon scarcity, if not of famine. The Bombay government write thus to the Court of Directors, on the 10th of December, in that year :—

'The political superintendent of Pahlunpoor reports the entire 'destruction of the monsoon crops, which had caused the price of grain 'to rise to a height unknown since the famine of 1812–13. With a view 'to afford every facility to the importation of grain, and to alleviate, 'as far as possible, the distress caused to the poorer classes, the Dewan 'of Pahlunpoor had, at the suggestion of Lieutenant Prescott, altogether 'removed the transit duties upon imported grain, and the greater part 'of this district being, fortunately, favourable to irrigation, every 'encouragement has been given to cultivators to sink wells for that 'purpose, by which means the present scarcity will be partially removed. 'There is still, however, much reason to apprehend that the Koolees 'and other turbulent characters throughout Goozerat, deprived of 'employment by the failure of their crops, and rendered desperate by 'the present high price of food, will assemble in bands, and threaten 'the public tranquillity, for the preservation of which every practicable 'measure of precaution has been taken.

'On the 16th of August, Mr. Willoughby states, that up to that 'period there had been a general failure of rain almost throughout 'Kateewar, and no prospect of a timely supply to save the crops. 'A great scarcity of grain and forage was the consequence, and large 'remissions of tribute, due to the British and Guikowar governments, 'would become necessary. The price of grain had trebled in amount, 'and was still rising; the want of forage was principally felt, great 'numbers of cattle were dying daily. Mr. Willoughby further states, 'that in his opinion, one half of the ordinary amount paid by the 'tributaries would have to be remitted.

'The very bad accounts received from the districts to the N.W. and 'S.W. of Bhooj, induced the resident to make a tour through them, 'to satisfy himself by personal observation. These reports appear not 'to have been exaggerated. In many places there had been no rain 'this year, and a very scanty supply last season, owing to which the 'forage had totally failed, and cattle perished from starvation in large 'numbers. On most other occasions of drought in this province, the 'people had Guzerat, Kateewar and Sinde to retire to with their families 'and herds, but this resource has failed them this year. The durbar 'has resolved to alleviate the sufferings of the working class by giving 'them a seer of grain daily for deepening the tanks near the city, to 'which the minister has added a quarter of a seer at his own expense.

'Subsequent to the date of this report, some rain had fallen, but the 'hopes thus excited were dissipated, and the prospects of the season 'rendered more gloomy than ever by the appearance of large flights 'of locusts, which have entirely overspread the country, and utterly

When the dwellers in the queens' apartments heard the news,
The sutees, with delight, cried Hur! Hur![1]
'For the salvation of my race,
'To increase the splendour of the three lines of ancestors,[2]
'I will accompany my lord,
'That my fame may be blazoned in the nine divisions of the world.'
Such a determination in their hearts fixing,
They called the 'Great Splendour' to witness,
'If I remain behind my husband,
'Where is my queenly virtue?'

From love of their husband, the women,
Though many, were delighted in mind.
From love of their husband, the women
In their hearts allowed hope to expand.
From love of their husband, the women
Prepared a last procession.
From love of their husband, the women
Caused drums to be sounded and songs to be sung.
True wives of the son of Bhuwân, then raised they the cry,
'The bright road let us travel,
'With her husband who refuses to burn,
'Where is her love to her lord?'

At this time, so many
With earnestness spoke the speech,
Making the true wife's vow
To bathe in the bath of fire:—
First, Dolut, the princess,
The Bhâtee's daughter, splendid as Doorgâ;
Princess Jushoo, the Chohân,
She whom the people called Mother;
Of great truth, the Seesodeâ's daughter,
Princess Ujub, an increasing moon;
When the sutees joined the mighty raja
Their fame cast light around them.

Princess Lâl, the Uhuree,
A sutee like Junuk's daughter;[3]
Wukhut princess, the Chowra,
Like incarnate Gungâ;

'destroyed the crops of every kind. This scourge has reduced the 'people to despair, they cannot be induced to sow the seed for the 'after-crops, and the durbar, it is believed, will not recover more than 'one-fourth of its accustomed revenue.'

[1] A name of Shiva.

[2] The sutee's virtues benefit the families of her father, her mother, and her husband's father.

[3] Junuk's daughter is Seetâ, the wife of Râm.

Chund, the Chohân lady,
Who resembled Bhuwânee;
Like a vision of Pârwutee,
Princess Wudun, the vow-performer;
Concubines both, Nâthee and Wunâ,
With joy and hope prepared for the pile;
With the fort-lord, Gumbheer,
The women set forth to burn.

Oomeydâ went with joy,
For sut-performing she presented herself;
Jusoobâee, the nurse's daughter,
To burn her body prepared;
An auspicious day perceiving it,
To prove their virtue they went forth;
A double line they formed,
Each line touching their lord.
With words of courage they spoke,—
'This age of iron, frail as a creeping shrub, what is its value?
'To the city of sutees going, we will there remain,
'Our husband's service we will perform there.'
With words of courage they spoke,
At the time whose good deeds cannot be destroyed.[1]
Each of them went to her chamber,
To bathe in the Ganges water.
Each of them dressed in handsome clothes,
Each of them assumed her jewels,
Necklaces of pearls
Each with joy put on.
In great splendour at that time,
Knowing it to be a deed of religion;
With the royal son of Bhuwân,
The sutees set forth to burn.

In the year called ninety,
In the nineteenth century from Vikrum's time,
In the time of rain, rain not having fallen,
When the sun had finished half his course,
In the month of Shrâwun, when the moon was dark,
On the moon's day, on the eleventh of the month,
Five hours after sun-rise,
Departed the soul of Gumbheer.
That whole day and night the corpse lay in the queen's apartments
That the sutees might be ready to accompany it.
When the night departed,
In the morning, they set forth to the pile.

[1] At the time of death, that is, when good deeds cannot be cancelled by any future ill-deed.

Sounded many noises :
The copper drums sounded ;
The smaller drums also ;
Though the task was mournful, it was joyfully accomplished ;
It seemed as if a raja with his rânees set forth on a pilgrimage.
Gumbheer Singh and the queens,
With smiles on their faces,
Seemed the moon sinking to its setting
Midst a çompany of stars.
At each step they gained fame ;
At each step they performed a 'horse sacrifice.'
Virtuous gifts they gave as they went ;
Abandoning the love of home,
Thinking only of their lord,
Regarding their bodies as blades of grass.
What bardic honor shall I give these sutees ?
Call other women '*tender*,' if you will ;
These are *hardy*,[1] strong as warriors.

At the last place
The sutees arrived,
They worshipped the sun,
They uttered these words,—
'O, Day-causer ! O, Dev !
'That aidest always the sutee,
'In this good Eedur,
'May I be married in another birth,
'May my husband always be the son of Bhuwân !'
Thus saying, they made obeisance to the sun,
Remembering their husbands in their hearts.
Turning back they moved haughtily
Towards the funeral pile.

Praise to the Bhâtee race,
Whose fame is in the earth !
Praise to the Seesodeeâ clan !
Praise to the clan Chohân !
Praise to the clan Chowra !
Whose daughters with their husband departing,
In fire consume their bodies.
Praise to the prince who married you !
Wives such as you are ships that bear your husband across the
ocean of existence.

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[1] The opposition in the original is between *Ubulâ* and *Subulâ*, two words compounded of the word *bul*, strength, with the affixes, *U* and *Su*, of negation and affirmation. *Ubula* is, however, commonly used to mean 'a woman.'

The fame of your race you have increased ;
Great joy you have caused to spring up ;
As you repeated the name of Vishnoo,
Good men who heard your words
Took vows to abandon the world ;
Cowards began to tremble with shame ;
Kshutrees felt their courage inflamed ;
The fame of the Râthor was established.
A great deed of virtue you exhibited to the world,
With your lord abandoning the body.' [1]

[1] The following account of the circumstances which attended and followed the death of Raja Gumbheer Singh is derived from a despatch of the Bombay government to the Court of Directors, dated 8th October, 1833 :—

'We have the honor to communicate to your honorable Court the 'death of Gumbheer Singh, the Raja of Eedur, which took place on the '12th August last, on which occasion the political commissioner for 'Goozerat deputed his first assistant, Mr. Erskine, to Eedur, with a view 'to prevent any disturbances arising in consequence of this event, and 'at the same time to signify to the several chiefs the desire of the 'British government to continue the succession in the person of the 'only son of the late raja ; and it is now our painful duty to report 'to your honourable Court the deplorable tragedy which occurred in 'the performance of the funeral rites of the deceased.

'The death of the raja, who had been for several days in a state of 'stupor, was for some time concealed, and remained unknown to the 'mother of the young raja until after the funeral ceremony ; but the 'other seven rânees or wives took the resolution of burning with their 'husband, and, accordingly, early on the morning of the 13th August, 'these infatuated women, two concubines of different caste from the 'raja, one principal personal servant, and four domestic slave women, 'were taken down with the corpse, and burnt with it before the whole 'assembled population of Eedur, the ministers and every person of 'authority aiding in the horrid ceremony. Nor was any effort made 'by a single person connected with the raja's family, or having any 'influence at Eedur, to dissuade any of the parties from taking this fatal 'step. It is stated by Mr. Erskine that one of the rânees was several 'months advanced in pregnancy, and another, who throughout showed 'a disinclination to the sacrifice, had never cohabited with the raja. 'The eldest in years, who was the second in rank, was aged sixty, and 'the youngest, to whom the raja had only been married nineteen 'months, was only twenty years of age. Notwithstanding the religious 'prejudices of the people, an universal feeling of horror and disgust 'is said to prevail against the principal actors in this atrocity, and it 'is the general belief that if proper means had been taken, there would 'not have been more than three lives sacrificed. It is related by an 'eye witness, that just before the lighting of the pile, the eldest rânee

'addressed the ministers, saying, that she herself had all along resolved 'upon immolating herself, and that no expostulations would have any 'effect upon her, but that it was strange that she had not heard a word 'of dissuasion or compassion expressed by any one, and she concluded 'by desiring them to go and live on the plunder they were securing 'to themselves by the destruction of their chief's whole family. The 'ministers were influenced by personal interest in sparing the life of 'the surviving rānee, she being the mother of the raja's only son, and 'her loss might have been prejudicial to their views.' [The following extract from the *Bombay Gazetteer*, vol. v, p. 408, completes the history of Idar :—

'A few months before his death, Gambhirsingh took advantage of Mr. Erskine's being at Idar to make over his son to the care of the British Government. And a few years later (1837) the continued mismanagement of the Idar state and the helpless condition of the young prince induced the Rāni to apply to the British Government to place the state under attachment. The condition of Idar was well-nigh desperate. Dishonesty and mismanagement had reduced the revenue from £10,000 to £4,500. About one-half of this had to be set apart to meet the Gaikwār's tribute, and the rest hardly sufficed to pay the interest of a debt of £30,000. The militia, long in arrears, were clamorous for pay, and the people, plundered equally by the state and by outlaws, were leaving in numbers. To this Government agreed, and shortly after the Modāsa and Bāyad disputes were re-opened and referred by the Rāni to Captain Outram. Meanwhile, the death of the Mahārājā of Jodhpur, and the adoption of Takhtsingh of Ahmednagar, put a stop to any further proceedings, as the Idar House claimed as the head of the family the whole of the Ahmednagar possessions. This claim the Mahārājā of Jodhpur attempted to set aside. But it was finally decided by the Government of India on the 14th April 1848 that Ahmednagar and its dependencies should revert to the elder or Idar branch, and that the two estates should, as they had before 1784, form one state under the Rājā of Idar. Gambhirsingh was succeeded by Javānsingh, a prince whose intelligence and loyalty gained for him the honour of a seat on the Bombay Council and the Knighthood of the Order of the Star of India.

CHAPTER XV

SETTLEMENT OF THE MYHEE KÂNTÂ

In the year A. D. 1828, the Raja Gumbheer Singh had struck the village of Keeree, which belonged to Futteh Singh, the chief of Roopâl. Futteh Singh laid a complaint before Major Miles, the British agent at Pâhlunpoor,[1] who then temporarily superintended the Myhee Kântâ, and that officer, after a time, decreed that the raja should pay a sum of money for having plundered the village. The sum was much too large, and hence it became a proverb in Eedur that 'the ant (Keeree) 'has become an elephant.' However, the raja never to the day of his death paid the money, and the chief of Roopâl began to think of going out in rebellion, or seizing some substantial hostage from Eedur, in order to procure a ransom for him. Now, Khemchund, one of the Eedur ministers, had a brother named Ukhechund, who was a merchant, and about this time Ukheechund put up for a night at Roopâl, on his way home to Eedur from Pertâpgurh, with a valuable investment of piece goods, opium, and other merchandise, under the protection of ten matchlock men. The chief of Roopâl entertained the merchant very attentively, and the next morning sent off the goods with the escort, and pressed Ukheechund to remain to dinner, promising to see him safe home to Eedur. After dinner he set off with the merchant, attended by ten horsemen, under pretence of an escort, but when he reached a place convenient for his purpose, he made his guest a prisoner, and carried him off into the forest. The merchant offered to pay any sum that might be demanded as the price of his liberty, but Futteh Singh said it was not money he wanted, but a letter to the minister, Khemchund, to ensure the payment of the sum decreed in compensation for Keeree, or at least an arrangement that nothing should be demanded in the way of tribute from

[1] Lieutenant Prescott, and not Major Miles, appears to have been the Superintendent of Pahlunpoor at the time of this award.

Roopâl until that sum were absorbed. The merchant wrote, as he was required to do, to Khemchund, but that minister replied that he had no power in the matter, the Eedur state having been attached by the British government.[1] Upon this, the chief of Roopâl proceeded to give Ukheechund much annoyance ; he kept him without food for days, beat him, put powder into his ear, and set it alight. The merchant now offered to pay double the sum in dispute out of his own means, but Futteh Singh said that would be no use, as he should not be allowed to keep the money. At length Khemchund sent for Soorujmul, of Mondeytee, and told him that he would give him a large sum of money, for which he passed a bond,

[1] 'After the death of Gumbheer Singh,' says the Bombay government, in their despatch to the Court of Directors of the 16th September, 1834, 'the powers of the state had been usurped by a person of dis-'reputable character, named Chajooram, who was formerly employed 'under the late raja's eldest son, Oomed Singh, and succeeded in pillaging 'that young prince of a considerable property. He was afterwards 'employed by Gumbheer Singh, on the death of Laljee Sahib, as his 'Deewan, and was for some time nominally his prime minister. Gumb-'heer Singh, however, who latterly managed his own affairs, had for 'some time before his death entirely withdrawn all confidence in him, 'and though he nominally bore the name of Deewan till the raja's 'death, he was never employed or consulted by the raja on the affairs 'of state. Through the means of Peetojee, the Ranee's brother, he found 'means to ingratiate himself with her, and being assisted by Jhâlum 'Singh, the chief of Mondeytee, who has long been associated with him 'in his evil practices, he carried on the whole of the business, and 'continued the system of plunder which he commenced on the occasion 'of the sutees, reported in our letter, dated 8th October, 1833. He was 'the principal agent in that cruel sacrifice of human life, and in conse-'quence of his unfeeling conduct on that occasion, and his oppression 'of the ryots in numerous instances, he had rendered himself almost 'universally detested throughout the Eedur districts. . . . As it was 'evident that under this management both the property of the young 'prince, of which the British government is the guardian, would suffer 'most considerably, and the public revenue be so plundered that the 'government would find it difficult, if not impossible, to perform its 'engagement with H. H. the Guikowar, the Political Commissioner 'recommended, and we accordingly sanctioned, the appointment of 'a regency during the young raja's minority, consisting of the following 'persons, viz. : The Ranee, Durjun Singh of Kookreea (the Prudhan), 'Humeer Singh (of Soor), cousin of the late raja, and Meerjee Shettya, 'Karbharee of Jhâlum Singh, of Mondeytee.'

on condition of obtaining his brother's release. Soorujmul, therefore, set out from Koowâwoo, where he then resided, to look after the chief of Roopâl. Now, the Bheels of the village of Wâvree were at feud with Roopâl, because many of them had been killed by the Rehwur clan, to which Futteh Singh belonged. Soorujmul engaged these Bheels to bring him intelligence of the chief. They disguised themselves in the costume of various wandering tribes, and searched until they discovered where Futteh Singh was. Soorujmul having obtained this information, began privately to raise mercenaries, of whom he assembled two hundred at Ahmednugger and Morâsâ, and two hundred more at Teentoee. He remained himself at Koowâwoo until he was joined by his vassals' horse, and then taking the mercenary matchlock men with him, he advanced, guided by the Bheels, towards the Roopâl chief's retreat. As the Mondeytee force came up, a Brahmin, who cooked for Ukheechund, and a Bheel were standing together upon an eminence. Soorujmul's men fired at them, wounded the Brahmin in the foot, and shot the Bheel dead. When the Roopâl chief heard the report of the matchlocks he thrust the merchant into a pit, and stood beside him with a drawn dagger, ready to slay him if he uttered a sound. His son, Gokuljee, stood in like manner beside the Brahmin. Thus they were prevented from raising the alarm, and Soorujmul's men, having hunted everywhere without discovering them, at length gave up the search, and passed on to Roopâl and Châdunee, at which latter place they halted fifteen days. Soorujmul wrote from thence to Khemchund, telling him to forward money for the payment of the mercenaries, but the minister refused to make any advance, and said that Soorujmul had done him mischief instead of good. The troops now began to clamour for pay, and Soorujmul having no means of satisfying them, led them back to Roopâl, from which place he drove off the cattle, and took hostages. The animals were priced, and distributed among the mercenaries, and the money which was obtained as ransom for the captives was also shared among them, but their demands were still incompletely satisfied. Soorujmul therefore led his men to Bokhâr, a Roopâl village, and commenced plundering it. Now the chief of Roopâl had

shortly before seized a quantity of opium belonging to a merchant, and placed it in the house of a Brahmin of Bokhâr. Soorujmul being informed of the fact, demanded the opium from the Brahmin. The priest and his wife, however, immediately resorted to means of intimidation ; they wounded themselves, and sprinkled with their blood those who attempted to enter the house. The Rajpoots, therefore, desisted from their attempt, but carried off the cattle and other property of the village, which was distributed among the troops, as before. The Mondeytee chief, after this, plundered two or three of the Eedur villages, because the minister refused to satisfy his demand. He now retired to a forest, called 'Phârkee,' in the neighbourhood of Mondeytee, and from thence levied contributions on the Eedur villages for grass, opium, tobacco, sugar-cane, and other necessaries. Whenever the villages refused submission to his demands, he plundered them : but the mercenaries' pay was not made up notwithstanding. The mercenaries at Phârkee now fasted for two or three days, compelling Soorujmul to fast also, and they threatened him. He made them promises, and induced them to accompany him to Wurâlee, where he encamped beside a reservoir, and laid the surrounding villages under contribution.

In the year A. D. 1835, Raja Kurun Singh, of Ahmednugger, died. Mr. Erskine, the British agent, was then at Wuktâpoor, a few miles from that capital. When he heard the news, he went to Ahmednugger, to prevent the Rânees becoming sutees. The corpse lay for three days, the belly having been opened, and filled with spices. On the third day, some Rajpoot chiefs were sent to Mr. Erskine to urge that the women would not be burned by force, but at their own desire, and that it was their custom from the time of their ancestors. Mr. Erskine detained the ambassadors, but sent no reply. The Rajpoots in the town, therefore, called in Bheels from the surrounding country, and sent word to Soorujmul to advance with his troops, determining that they would burn the women secretly if they could, or otherwise resist the British agent if he came to prevent them by force. Soorujmul, however, did not come up until it was too late. The Bheels secretly erected a funeral pile on the side of the town furthest removed from the British encamp-

ment; they placed within it much cotton, clarified butter, cocoa nut shells, and other inflammable substances. Mr. Erskine had set guards at all the gates of the town, and the Rajpoots, therefore, opened a new one, and, in the middle of the night, armed themselves, and carried the sutees out by it. There were three Rânees upon whom the desire of accompanying their lord came; they were daughters of a Deora chief of the house of Seerohee, of the Chowra of Wursorâ, and of the Rehwur of Runâsun. The Rajpoots had taken the precaution of placing Bheels to watch Mr. Erskine's camp, and, when the sutees were burned, the flame of the pile, rising high into the air, attracted the attention of the British agent, who sent to ascertain the cause. The Bheels opposed this advanced party, and let fly arrows at them. The agent then mounted, and moved on with his force, but the affair was over, and the Rajpoots retired; however one British officer was shot by the Bheels.[1]

Soorujmul arrived in the neighbourhood of Ahmednugger the day after the death of the sutees, and sent forward a party of horse to reconnoitre. They came to Ahmednugger, and, seeing what had happened, returned, and reported to the chief, who, thereupon, moved back again to the reservoir at Wurâlee.

Mr. Erskine wrote to Soorujmul to say, that, as he had fled like a hare, he would follow him like a hound. The chief,

[1] *Mr. Erskine to the Resident at Baroda, 9th February*, 1835.

'The camp was removed about eight o'clock, and all was quiet till 'an alarm was given about half-past two o'clock in the morning, that 'the pile was on fire. The Guikowâr horse were encamped between 'the ground we formerly occupied and the river, on the banks of which 'the pile had been erected, and I have been informed this morning 'that the cries and supplications of the women were so vociferous, that 'every man who was asleep started from his bed. Enough people to 'perpetrate the violence were taken, but no more, and the women were 'dragged over a broken part of the wall, on the river side, by these 'ruffians, attended by Kurun Singh's two sons, and, with the utmost 'haste, hurried into the pile, which, saturated with oil and clarified 'butter, was set fire to, and the abomination completed. Any attempt to 'prevent the sutee must have been too late, as, when I was informed of 'the fire, I beheld the extensive blaze, and knew that all was over.'

For further details, supplied by the English Records, see the note at the end of this chapter.

thereupon, sent his family to Pânowrâ, and retired himself to the celebrated hill, named the Ghoonwo, which is surrounded by a thick forest. The British agent, when he had received reinforcements, moved upon Gotâ, accompanied by eleven officers. There was a sheep fastened at the door of Soorujmul's house. A trooper of the British detachment came to carry it off, and was shot dead. Many other men were killed, and, among them, one of the British officers, but the village was not taken. During the night Soorujmul's aunt, the widow of the Row of Pol, made her escape, under the escort of some Bheels, to Pânowrâ. In the morning the attack was resumed, but noon came, and the village was not yet captured. The Koolee chief of Dhuroee, who was with the British, now asked for permission to break into the village, as he was at feud with Soorujmul. He broke into the place where the horses were picketted, and the troops entered the village, and burnt it. Several Rajpoots were killed or wounded; among them, Rutno Râthor fell, after killing many of the assailants—the mark of his sword upon a tree is still pointed out by the villagers.

People say that of old
The headless corpse fought on,
O! man-jewel Rutno! the tradition
You preserved, brave son of Sher Singh!

When Soorujmul, who was at the Ghoonwo hill, a few miles off, heard the report of musketry, and saw the flames of the burning village, he sent out scouts, who learnt what had happened from people whom they met flying from the village, and, returning, gave information to their chief. Upon this, Soorujmul proceeded immediately to Gotâ, with his Rajpoot horse, and four hundred matchlock men. The British detachment was then at the village reservoir; many who had been wounded, were already placed in litters, and some were refreshing themselves beside the tank. Soorujmul sent forward his matchlock men to a ravine, through which the road from Gotâ to Wurâlee passes, and, when the British force moved, he followed them with his horsemen until they fell into the ambuscade, where many of them were killed and wounded. People say that another British officer was killed there.

The detachment reached Wurâlee, and from thence retreated

by Eedur to Sâdrâ.[1] Soorujmul returned to the Ghoonwo, and, seizing a trader of Gulorâ as a hostage for his subsistence,

[1] The following account of the affair at Gotâ is derived from a letter addressed to Mr. Erskine by Captain Delamain, dated Eedur, 22nd February, 1835 :—

'I have the honor to report that I reached the position stated to be 'occupied by Soorujmul at daybreak yesterday morning, and found 'it deserted. Upon enquiry, I was given to understand that he had 'moved off two days previously to, or in the direction of, a village 'named Gotâ, about two kos distant, which is held by his brother, and 'it was thought probable that he was staying with him in the vicinity. 'I instantly directed the march upon that village, and on the advance-'guard riding up the principal avenue of the village, a shot was at once 'directed upon them from a high ghurree, and in a few minutes firing 'commenced in several quarters on both sides. The result has been 'twenty-five prisoners, the whole of the men in the village at the time, 'exclusive of four or five that were killed.

'I regret to have to state that the loss we have sustained in this 'affair is most severe, and much more than the object would warrant, 'could it have been anticipated. It was wholly caused by about seven 'men who had taken position in a very strong and lofty ghurree, situated 'in the midst of a court-yard, without the means of ascent, except by 'a small door which was commanded from the apertures of the outhouses 'forming the court, in the intricacies of which some of the enemy were 'posted. Their shots were unerring, and the whole of their defence 'most creditable to them as men. I before lamented the number of 'casualties. I must now acquaint you with the greatest concern, that 'Lieutenant Pottinger is among the number killed. He fell most 'gallantly heading an advance, and although brought on to this place, 'expired about ten o'clock last night. His body I have this moment 'dispatched to your camp to prevent delay, and its arrival this letter 'will, I hope, precede.

'The village of Gotâ was for the most part consumed. I must beg 'here to acquaint you that the intelligence received by you, and com-'municated to me, as to the nature of the country, is most incorrect. 'It consists of rocky eminences covered with dense jungle, and is 'altogether quite impracticable to cavalry, as far as their use is con-'cerned, placing, indeed, infantry at a serious disadvantage. This was 'exemplified on our evacuating the village yesterday. Soorujmul '(who was at hand) came down with his followers, and opened a fire 'upon the rear of the cavalry through the jungle, killing a trooper. 'To have attacked him was impossible, and would only have added 'to the loss already sustained from him. The infantry I had at this 'time detached a short way in advance in charge of the prisoners, and 'they were not available.

'I had intended halting for the night at Wurâlee, but a mistake 'having caused us to advance a kos on this side of it in search of a tank

carried him off to Pânowrâ. The British agent came afterwards with two guns to Ahmednugger and Eedur. At the latter place he sent for Jhâlum Singh, of Mondeytee, and told him that he must call in his son. Soorujmul was at this time at Phârkee. Jhâlum Singh mentioned to the agent where he was, but at the same time sent to Soorujmul telling him to make his escape. When the force reached Phârkee, therefore, Soorujmul had escaped, but he fled so hastily that he left his carpet spread on the ground, and dropped the saddle off his camel; he left behind him, too, the trader whom he had seized. There is a lake called Ghorâduroo, between Phârkee and Pol, beside which Soorujmul halted. The British agent continued to threaten Jhâlum Singh, and he, thinking that the troops would not venture to follow him there, mentioned that his son was at Ghorâduroo. However, the British troops advanced thither, the chief of Mondeytee having hardly time to send word to his son. Soorujmul fired on the troops and then took to flight. In this retreat his brother, Sher Singh, who was with him, became giddy and had nearly been made prisoner; however, his followers carried him up the mountain side. Soorujmul again retired to Pânowrâ.

Meanwhile Jhâlum Singh, who was at feud with the villagers of Koowâwoo, because they had sheltered his son when he was at enmity with him, persuaded the British agent that the chief of Roopâl and the Ahmednugger rajas, Pruthee Singh and Tukhut Singh, who were in outlawry about the matter of the

'and open ground which I had observed in the morning, but which 'would not answer our purpose, as I afterwards found, we continued 'our march to this place and arrived at eight o'clock, the men and horses 'extremely fatigued.

'I herewith send a return of the killed and wounded; the men 'returned missing have probably been taken or killed by the enemy. 'They were, I imagine, led by the hope of plunder, to continue in the 'village after the assembly had been sounded, not being aware of the 'proximity of Soorujmul and his followers.

'To effect his capture or destruction will not, I imagine, be easy, 'as of course he will retire from strong to stronger country. With two 'hundred infantry I do not think I should be warranted in attacking 'his force in country of this description. I have no doubt I could make 'him retire, but the loss on our side would be tenfold, and without, 'I think, corresponding benefit.'

sutees, and Soorujmul himself, were all of them at Koowâwoo. The agent moved to that place, therefore, with a body of cavalry. The bards to whom the village belonged (among whom was the narrator of this story) were summoned to the agent's presence, and questioned as to where Soorujmul was. They said they did not know, upon which the troops began to batter the town; the fort wall was destroyed by the cannon, and the village was plundered and burnt. Many of the villagers escaped, but many were taken and carried off with the cattle, which were also seized, to the head quarters of the British force at Wurâlee. The troops after this advanced to Pânowrâ to seize Soorujmul; a fight took place there, and an officer and fifty men of the attacking force were killed. Pânowrâ was taken and burnt, and the inhabitants fled from it. The troops next burned Mânpoor, in Mewar. Soorujmul and his family, meanwhile, fled to the hills, and his wife, whose name was Jodheejee, travelled in a miserable condition through these wild places, her feet pierced with thorns, and her strength exhausted with the weight of her little daughter (afterwards married to Raja Jowân Singh, of Eedur) whom she was forced to carry with her on her hip.

When the British force retired to Sâdrâ, the town of Pânowrâ was restored, and Soorujmul, leaving his family there, returned to the neighbourhood of Koowâwoo, rushing occasionally from the hills to plunder the territory of Eedur. At this time, the principal of an Uteet monastery at Sidhpoor having died, the succession to his authority was disputed by two of his disciples. One of them, whose name was Râj Bhârtee, changing his attire to that of a Rajpoot, went out in rebellion, and joined Soorujmul. He promised to find pay for that chief's mercenaries, if he would espouse his cause. Soorujmul agreed, and commenced incursions upon the country around Sidhpoor. One day Soorujmul and Râj Bhârtee came with eighteen horsemen, and halted on the banks of the Suruswutee, near Sidhpoor, where they cooked their dinner, giving out to the passers-by that they were people of Eedur, on their way to a celebration of obsequies at Pâhlunpoor. In the evening, however, the Rajpoots entered the market-place with the intention of seizing the head merchant of the town. They could not discover this person, and,

therefore, went to the house of another mercantile man, named Lukhoo Shet, and asked the clerk where his master was, stating that they wished to cash a bill. The clerk said that he would cash the bill for them without disturbing his master, who was at dinner upstairs. The Rajpoots dismounted, and, going upstairs, seized the Shet, whom they hustled out of his house into the street, where one of the party put him on his horse, like a bundle of hay, and the whole galloped off down the street. The alarm was raised in the market-place, and when the horsemen reached the town gate they found the door swinging on its hinges. One of the Rajpoots abused the doorkeeper, and drew his sword upon him, and he opened the door. Soorujmul and his party now took the road to Oduv. The Guikowâr commander in Sidhpoor sent his cavalry in pursuit, but as these had no hope of reward, they followed the Rajpoots leisurely for a time, and then returned home. Soorujmul went on from Oduv to the Ghoonwo and Pânowrâ. Lukhoo Shet petitioned that he might be well treated, and released on paying a ransom, but Soorujmul, though he assented to the first part of the proposal, declined the second, saying, that the Uteet's affairs must first be settled. The merchant gave Soorujmul bills, which his followers cashed, and supplied themselves and their prisoner. The mercantile body at Sidhpoor now complained to the government of Baroda, declaring that they would leave the town deserted unless Lukhoo Shet were restored to liberty. The Guikowâr ministry, thereupon, wrote to Captain Outram, who was then the British agent in the Myhee Kântâ, to procure the release of the merchant. That officer advanced to Eedur, and called in all the outlaws on security for their good treatment. First of all came in Soorujmul, and threw down his sword, receiving a pardon from the agent. The chief then said that his mercenaries would harass him for their arrears of pay, and that he had not the means of supporting even himself. Two of the Mondeytee villages were, therefore, assigned to him, and he disbanded his troops, with the exception of twenty horsemen. He was appointed, by the Eedur government, captain of the garrison of Bheelorâ, and his troops were taken into pay. His vassals, also, who had been out in rebellion, were restored to their estates. His companion, Râj Bhârtee,

surrendered to the Guikowâr government, who, after detaining him in confinement for some months, accepted a sum of money as an offering, and placed him on the cushion of the monastery at Sidhpoor, where he still resides with the reputation of being a very wealthy man. In a similar manner the outlaws of Ahmednugger, Roopál, and other places were restored to their homes, and peace was established throughout the territory of Eedur.

In the year A. D. 1838, Jhâlum Singh, the chief of Mondeytee, died, and Soorujmul succeeded him in the possession of his hereditary estate, while his brother, Sher Singh, retained the lands of Rutunpoor and Gotâ.

Appended Note on the Final Proceedings in the Myhee Kântâ, as described in the English Records

Bombay Government Despatch of the 17th of September, 1835.

'When Mr. Erskine arrived at Ahmednugger, on the 16th of February last, whither he had proceeded with a force of three hundred men at his disposal, to put down some disturbances quite distinct from this event, he was informed that Kurun Singh, the raja of that district, was not expected to live out the day. Mr. Erskine, upon this, endeavoured to ascertain whether a compulsory sutee with the raja's wives, who were seven in number, was contemplated, as in the case of the Eedur raja's death, in August, 1833. He could not procure any satisfactory information. The raja died late in the evening of the 6th of February, which fact was concealed until the following evening, when it became openly a matter of conversation, that five out of seven widows would be sacrificed at the funeral pile. Early on the morning of the 7th, Mr. Erskine summoned to his presence Pruthee Singh, the raja's eldest son, a youth of about seventeen years of age, and Humeer Singh, of Soor, the deceased's first cousin, stated to them the detestation entertained by the British government of that inhuman practice, and declared his intention to oppose, by every means in his power, the observance of a revolting rite, which, if formerly tolerated, was now very justly enacted to be a crime, within its territories, by the British government. The whole of the succeeding day was spent on the part of Pruthee Singh and Humeer Singh in representations of the necessity of the ceremony taking place, and on Mr. Erskine's, in earnestly entreating their co-operation in his views. Mr. Erskine was perfectly unconscious that the sole object of this discussion was to gain time, and that emissaries had been sent to every village in the Ahmednugger zillah, to collect armed Bheels, and matchlock men, with a design of carrying the sutee into effect by main force. Towards the evening, large bodies of armed men

were observed pouring into the town from every direction, within sight of our camp, on which Mr. Erskine requested the officer commanding the detachment to disarm all such people, as it was plain they were congregating for some evil purpose, since there could be no occasion for that sort of force for the purpose of burning the raja's body. One or two parties were disarmed, and allowed to go, with a promise that they should get their arms next day. In the meanwhile, it was reported that a very large body of armed men was assembled in the fort, and a party of about fifty or sixty Koolees, matchlock men and others, headed by a man said to be kotwal to Kurun Singh, with lighted matches and slung bows, passed close to Lieutenant Lewis, who was on parade underneath the walls of the town. That officer addressed the kotwal, who was on horseback, told him the orders, and requested him to cause the men who followed him to surrender their arms, when the kotwal immediately ordered the men behind him to fire on Lieutenant Lewis. The men unhesitatingly obeyed, and Lieutenant Lewis was shot through the side. The party then ran into the town, the gates of which were immediately closed, and a brisk fire was opened from the ramparts upon our troops, who were within two hundred paces of the wall; and as there were pieces of ordnance in the town, which if mounted during the night, in the bastions, might have destroyed a great number of our men, it was judged advisable to fall back a few hundred paces, Mr. Erskine having, in the meantime, sent off an express to the military authorities at Ahmedabad and Hursole, for artillery to storm the gate, and take possession of the town. Everything remained quiet until about half-past two o'clock the following morning (the 9th), when an alarm was given that the pile was on fire. It was now too late to prevent or impede the atrocity, which was in the act of being perpetrated. The measures taken by the cruel authors of the barbarous proceeding had been but too successful, and the unfortunate women fell a sacrifice to the savage prejudices of their destroyers. We abstain from laying before your Honorable Court the particulars of the horrid transaction, which will be found detailed in Mr. Erskine's letter, noted in the margin. (This letter will be found in the note at the foot of page 212.)

'The sanguinary deed completed, the late raja's two sons, attended by a band of Rajpoots and others, sallied out of the town. In the morning, no symptoms of hostility were displayed towards the detachment, except a few shots fired from the fort at the water-carriers going and coming to and from the river, and most of the Bheels and Koolees had withdrawn from the town during the night. Mr. Erskine's information, at this time, led him to believe that the sutee, which was undoubtedly a measure of compulsion as regards the victims, was perpetrated against the will of Pruthee Singh, who was disposed to follow Mr. Erskine's advice.

'An addition to the force, of fifty men from Hursole, arrived in the afternoon of the 9th, and Captain Lardner, the officer in command, had intended to have taken possession of the town that evening, which might have been done without much difficulty, had it not been for the

following circumstances:—Some months previous to the occurrence of the sutee, Soorujmul, the eldest son of Jhalum Singh Chohan, chief of Mondeytee, had collected a large body of insurgents, and placed himself at the head of it. The ostensible object of the assembly of that force, was to procure the liberation of the Doongurpoor Sowcar, brother to Khemchund, of Khooshalchund Nalchund's firm of Ahmedabad, and to oppose Heemut Singh, and Futteh Singh, of Roopâl, with whom he and his connections had long been at enmity. Some unsuccessful conflicts with his enemies, and the importunity of his troops for pay, involved him in trouble; and observing that excesses on the part of the Thakor of Roopâl, in the Doongurpoor territory, had not met with immediate punishment, he thought that he could best employ his followers in general depredation, and accordingly attacked Durrowee, one of the ghansdana villages, and distributed the pillage among his needy soldiery. Affairs at Eedur were in so disordered a state when this was made known to Mr. Erskine, that he thought it advisable to wait till their settlement before he had recourse to coercion towards Soorujmul, and merely wrote him a letter of advice; but he subsequently learnt that Soorujmul had attacked Hursole, in Nanee Marwar, another of the ghansdana villages. Mr. Erskine hereupon sent five mohsuls on him, requiring him immediately to disband his sebundy. He dismissed the five mohsuls, and refused to disband the force. On this twenty mohsuls were sent, but without any beneficial effect. [*Mohsil* (P.), 'one who has been sent to gather information.' For *sikbandi*, irregular militia, see *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 805.]

'On the 9th February, at four o'clock P.M., intelligence arrived by one of the five mohsuls whom Soorujmul had expelled from his camp that he had encamped at Wuktapoor, four miles from Ahmednugger, with about one thousand Mukranees and sixty or seventy-five horse, with the view of opposing the British troops. On the receipt of this news, Mr. Erskine advised the officer commanding the detachment to defer any operations against the town of Ahmednugger for a time, and requested the officer commanding the northern division of the army immediately to send such assistance as he might think fit for subduing Soorujmul's force, and quelling these extensive disturbances which had arisen. . . .

'On the 3rd March the town of Ahmednugger was taken possession of by the British troops, and, on the 6th March, Mr. Erskine stated his expectation of being shortly able to settle the affairs of the Myhee Kântâ.'

Bombay Government Despatch of 15th October, 1835.

'There were thus three parties of insurgents in arms in the Myhee Kântâ: 1st. Pruthee Singh and his adherents; 2nd. The Thakor of Roopâl, and his associate, the Thakor of Ghorewara, and their followers; and, 3rd. Soorujmul and his coadjutors. . .

'Captain Delamain, with a combined force of two hundred infantry, a wing of cavalry, and a hundred and fifty Guikowar horse, marched to

attack Soorujmul, and on the 17th February reached Wurâlee in the Eedur country, where Soorujmul was said to be encamped. He was found to have retreated; and, as it was believed that he was at Gotâ, two miles off, the residence of his brother, Sher Singh, Captain Delamain resolved on advancing to that town. The place was taken, and four or five of the enemy killed, and all the survivors in the village, twenty-five or thirty in number, were taken prisoners. But our loss was severe, and an officer, Lieutenant Pottinger, of the 17th Regiment, N.I., was killed. This lamented result was occasioned by there being a strong and high ghuree, or fortlet, at the place, which was desperately defended by the men who occupied it, and by our detachment not being provided with a gun, which, for the service in contemplation when the detachment marched, was not necessary. . . .

'The field force having been augmented, operations were then commenced against the Thakor of Roopâl. At the conclusion of February, 1835, detachments of our troops took, without loss on our side, and destroyed the villages of Kanora and Dodhur, and also a Gosaeen's mut in the neighbourhood of the latter village, and on the 5th March, 1835, the village of Peermalee, all strongholds of the Roopal Bheels, and occupied entirely by irreclaimable outlaws. The town of Roopal was also occupied by our troops. . . . After the dispersion of the Roopal rebels, operations were resumed against Soorujmul by the field force under the command of Major Morris, of the 24th Regt., N.I., which, on the 11th March, arrived before Gorul, one of his principal strongholds in the hills in the neighbourhood of Mondeytee, and took it, and dispersed the garrison, with the loss to the enemy of eight killed and seventeen or eighteen wounded. Soorujmul had quited the place, which was defended by his brother, Sher Singh, and about two hundred or two hundred and fifty Mukranees. . . . Towards the middle of March, 1835, the force, penetrating further into the hills in pursuit of Soorujmul and his adherents, took and destroyed the strongholds of Pharkee, Panowra, Manpoor, and Badurwara. The town of Panowra was the residence of a Bheel chief, who had long been the terror of the neighbourhood, and who was Soorujmul's most persevering and devoted ally. In these operations we had an officer, Lieut. Cruikshank, 17th Regt. N.I., and seventeen sepoys wounded, and the enemy had about 370 men killed and wounded. . . .

'The transactions reported in this despatch have, we acknowledge, left a painful impression on our minds, that after the severest sufferings and privation on the part of the troops in toiling through a most rugged and difficult country, with which we are most imperfectly acquainted, the dispersion of the parties who appeared in arms against us has been effected, it is true, but the chiefs have not been captured, and the causes still exist which have always made it so easy in these quarters for an enterprising leader to assemble at any time a body of armed men ready to join him in projects of plunder and depredation. The mass of the population, in fact, in these tracts is warlike, and if not constantly predatory, at least always willing to be so; and while we have no more

acquaintance with the country, which is one of such uncommon strength that a few courageous and well-armed men might successfully oppose at almost every step many times their number, and no more connexion with nor influence over the chiefs than those which we now possess, we can scarcely hope to keep in order so many ungovernable spirits without the employment of overwhelming force, and, in short, studding the country with military parties, the expense of which would be enormous.

'These considerations have led us to entertain thoughts of causing a correct survey of the whole of the tract in question to be made, and our president (Sir Robert Grant) has further brought forward a proposition, in which the other members of the Board have concurred, for making an attempt at creating an influence over the warlike population of the Myhee Kântâ, and providing for the tranquillity of the country, and fostering its eventual civilisation by measures similar to those which have been followed with such success in Candeish.'

Bombay Government Despatch of 31*st December*, 1835.

'The nature of Captain Outram's (now Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B., Chief Commissioner for the affairs of Oude) duties in Candeish, and the ability and address displayed by that officer in restoring tranquillity in the Dang a few years since, point him out as eminently fit for this important trust. Under these circumstances our president proposed that Captain Outram be directed to proceed immediately to Goozerat, furnished with instructions grounded on the above suggestions.'

Bombay Government Despatch of 15*th May*, 1836.

'Captain Outram himself, in his able and interesting report of the 14th November, 1835, plainly expresses his judgment to be, that however desirable it might be to conciliate the malcontent or insurgent chiefs in the Myhee Kântâ, there are some of them whom it is impossible to treat leniently, men who having openly defied the authority of the British government, must be made a severe example of; who, in short, must be proclaimed outlaws, and given up, when identified, to be executed by the sentence of a drum-head court-martial. In this sentiment Captain Outram was substantially supported by the Political Commissioner, and by several other officers whose opinions are entitled to considerable weight, to the effect generally that further measures of coercion are imperatively called for to insure the permanent tranquillization of the Myhee Kântâ.

'After having given the subject the consideration it so well deserves, we resolved to adopt the opposite policy, and to begin by proclaiming an amnesty for the past, and by admitting without exception, all who are now out in Bahirwuteea to terms, provided they will submit themselves to our authority, and furnish security for their peaceable conduct in future. We are not only sanguine that this policy will be successful,

but are fully impressed with the conviction that the pacification of the Myhee Kântâ will never be effected by any other means. . . .

'In the first place it does not appear to us that the principal malcontents (or, as they are called, insurgents) have embraced the lawless courses they pursue from pure love of them, but that they have engaged in them in consequence either of family dissensions, grievances unredressed, or misfortunes which British policy has occasioned. On this point the information before us is defective, but strong grounds exist for believing that the disturbances in the Myhee Kântâ owe their origin and long continuance to the above causes, singly or combined.

'In the second place we consider that the severe example which Captain Outram and other officers recommend as an essential preliminary to a valid pacification has already been made. Although in the course of the military operations of last year none of the disaffected chiefs fell into our hands, yet their strength was broken, their followers dispersed, several of their strongholds, towns, and villages burnt, or otherwise destroyed, and a considerable number of their adherents killed, wounded, or taken prisoners.'

Bombay Government Despatch of 26th April, 1837.
(*Abstract.*)

Captain Outram assumed charge of his appointment as political agent in the Myhee Kântâ on the 20th January, 1836. On the 7th February, in compliance with the conciliatory instructions of the government, he dispatched letters to the outlawed chiefs, requesting their presence in his camp for the conclusion of a settlement on the principle of an amnesty for the past, under specific conditions. The period mentioned in the letters was extended in favour of Soorujmul for ten days, and on the 8th March that chief appeared in the agent's camp, expressed contrition, and promised, on the grant of pardon, to find security. He then withdrew for the purpose of providing sureties and dismissing his followers.

On Captain Outram's arrival at Eedur about ten days after, however, an agent, from the town of Sidhpoor, came to request his interference in obtaining the release of the merchant who had been carried off from that place three months before. The British agent immediately addressed a letter to Soorujmul, demanding that the merchant should be given up within three days, and threatening revocation of pardon on failure of compliance. The government altogether disapproved of this proceeding, which called forth from Sir Robert Grant the remark, 'I have, from the 'beginning, feared that Captain Outram took too warlike a view of the 'mission in which he was engaged.' Meanwhile, however, Soorujmul had made answer that the Uteet, who had employed him to assist in capturing the merchant, had carried that person away, and that he, therefore, could not produce him. The agent continued to demand the merchant's surrender notwithstanding this statement, and Soorujmul was compelled to seek refuge at Pânowrâ. Captain Outram at once proclaimed the chief an outlaw, set a reward upon his head, and started

with a detachment of troops in pursuit of him. The Rânâ of Pânowrâ, on the advance of the troops, under the apprehension that his town would be again destroyed, as it had been in March, 1835, refused to afford either aid or protection to Soorujmul, and the chief, therefore, at once surrendered. 'Although,' said the government, 'we could not 'help rejoicing at Captain Outram's success, and at the fortunate result 'of his spirited, though somewhat rash, proceedings, yet we deemed 'the outlawry of Soorujmul to have been harsh, and the consequent 'march of our troops unnecessary, but the plan was executed with a skill 'worthy of Captain Outram, and we have no doubt contributed to the 'event. We, therefore, caused him to be informed, that we were 'perfectly willing to admit that success was to be attributed, not to 'his instructions, but to his departure from them, enjoining him, 'however, to a strict attention to the spirit of our instructions for the 'future.'

On the 7th May, Soorujmul (who had been treated in the interval as a prisoner upon parole) presented himself before the political agent, accompanied by the Sidhpoor merchant, and, as their statements of what had occurred agreed, Captain Outram thought it advisable to release Soorujmul from arrest without the infliction of any fine, for which unexpected act of clemency the chief appeared to be deeply grateful.

'We rejoice,' say the government, 'in being able to report the con-'tinued good conduct of Soorujmul since his admission to pardon, and 'we feel pleasure in having it also in our power to state to your Honorable 'Court, that his exertions have been joined with those of Captain 'Outram in re-establishing peace and good order in the Myhee Kântâ. 'To this chief's assistance must be, in a great measure, attributed the 'destruction of the Bahirwuteea Khoomla, and the dispersion of his 'formidable gang.'

Before the 1st September, 1836, the remaining outlaws had surrendered, and an important object had been gained by the opening of a line of road from Oodeipoor to Eedur, by way of Pânowrâ, the chiefs interested having signified their consent to the exemption of travellers, by this road, from transit duties for a specific period.

During the stay of the political agent at Pânowrâ, the exertions of that distinguished officer 'were most successfully directed to quelling 'border feuds, one of which, a blood feud, had been handed down from 'father to son for forty years. He, likewise, took advantage of his 'presence in the wilder part of the hills, to obtain the confidence of 'the border chiefs, who, up to that time, had experienced but few 'opportunities of seeing Europeans, except as enemies at the head of 'their troops; he succeeded in settling numerous disputes and feuds, 'some of many years' duration, which had been a source of endless 'correspondence with the political authorities in Goozerat. So great, 'indeed, was the confidence which Captain Outram inspired, that 'several Bahirwuteeas spontaneously sought his mediation.'

We take pleasure in closing the present note, with a passage from a letter of Captain Outram himself, dated 30th April, 1836, describing

the friendly feelings with which, under his conciliatory management, the British troops were received in the districts they passed through :—

'Our troops have traversed the country as friends, instead of enemies. 'The Bheels, who at first invariably fled at their approach, were en-'couraged to come back, and astonished at the kind of treatment they 'received. Or, when fears deterred them from appearing during the 'stay of the troops near their villages, they were agreeably surprised, 'on their return, to find nothing destroyed during their absence. A 'personal intercourse was kindly encouraged between the men and the 'villagers, the consequences of which were soon seen in the happy and 'confident manner in which the detachment was met on its return. In 'fact, the march of the troops in the Myhee Kântâ this year, has been 'a progress of peace, and they have been received as a blessing, instead 'of avoided as a scourge to the country.'

BOOK IV

OR

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER I

HINDOO CASTES

Having brought our narrative down to the time when British influence became paramount throughout Goozerat, it is our object in these concluding chapters to present the reader with a general picture of the state of society among the Hindoos of that country as it now exists. The task is one of great difficulty, nor can we even with the assistance which we possess, hope to perform it in otherwise than a very incomplete manner. Though India and Britain be not now, as once they were, opposed to each other as Antipodes,[1] still an observation made in reference to other Orientals six centuries ago may be repeated with, in many respects, equal applicability to the Hindoos at the present hour :—'Is it to be wondered at,' said William Longuespee, on the eve of that bloody field of Massoura, in which St. Louis fell, a prisoner, into the hands of the Saracen,—'is it to be wondered at, if we new comers, young men and 'strangers, are ignorant of the East ? *As far distant as the East 'is from the West, so far different are the people of the West from 'these Orientals*.'[2] The numerous restrictions with which Hindoos in their private life are fenced round, render it almost impossible that much private intercourse should take place between them and strangers, and the difficulties of the stranger who wishes to become acquainted with them are materially enhanced if his situation be that of a government official. But the only alternative offered to him is one of still greater difficulty, it is simply this, that he should, without an effort to the contrary, remain ignorant of a people among whom the best years of his life must be spent, and so be perpetually misunderstanding and misrepresenting the feelings by which they are actuated, and the facts by which they are surrounded.

[1] 'Nec ipsos Indos lateris a parte orientis, nec ipsos Britannos 'a parte Occidentis.'—Arnobius, quoted by Bishop Beveridge.

[2] *Vide* Matthew Paris's *English History*.

Englishmen seem hardly able to realize the truth that in this nineteenth century a people, such as the Hindoos, survives, the habits and manners of which bear so much greater an affinity to those which they read of in the pages of Adams and Potter, or ponder over in the dusty saloons of a museum, than to those with which, in daily life, they are conversant. We have some apprehension, therefore, that the following descriptions may seem to our readers to be derived rather from antiquarian research than from every day observation of common life. This, we would respectfully urge, is not the case; much which we represent will doubtless wear an antique appearance, for Hindoo life is, in its outline, at the present time, much what it was in the days of Kurun and Jye Singh, but the things of which we treat are, nevertheless, things which exist.

The first institution of Hindoo society which forces itself upon the attention of the stranger is that of caste. When Mr. Borradaile counted the castes in Surat in A. D. 1827, at the time that he was employed in collecting and arranging information regarding the customs of the Hindoos (a work which has unfortunately been altogether discontinued) he found in that city no less than two hundred and seven. Each of these was more or less restricted from private intercourse with all the rest (a subject which we shall have to pursue in some detail); they could not intermarry, nor even eat the same food, nor drink the same water.

Originally there were, as is well known, no more than four castes in India,—the Brahmin, or priestly; the Kshutreeya, or warlike; the Vaishya, or agricultural and mercantile; and the Shoodra, or menial.[1] It would appear that for some time at least these men designated classes rather than hereditary castes in the modern sense of the term. Shrungee, the Reeshee or Sage, was born, we are told, of a deer, Kousheek sprang from sacrificial grass, Goutum from a hare, Vâlmeek from a snake's heap, Dron Âchâryâ from a leaf plate; other sages were the offspring of sailors' daughters, of prostitutes, of outcaste mothers, of menial servants, but they were, nevertheless, all

[1] [The theory of four original castes is a fiction. See V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India* (1919), p. 35.]

of them Brahmins. In the Muhâ Bhârut frequent mention is made of the sages sharing the same table with the warriors; and of Kâleedâs, the poet, who was a Brahmin, it is said in other books, that he married the raja's daughter, who was of course a Kshutreeya.[1]

The celebrated 'seven Reeshees' were householding Brahmins, and possessed but one wife between them. These transferred to the heavens as the stars, which we call the Pleiades, shine around Droov, the north star, the portal of Vishnoo's Paradise, and beside them, in a lesser light, shines their consort Uroondhutee.[2] From the seven sages most of the Brahmins

[1] ['In the earliest ages the head of every Âryan household was his own priest, and even a king would himself perform the sacrifices which were appropriate to his rank. By degrees, families or guilds of priestly singers arose, who sought service under the kings and were rewarded with rich presents for the hymns or praise and prayer recited and sacrifices offered by them on behalf of their masters. As time went on the sacrifices became more numerous and more elaborate, and the mass of ritual grew to such an extent that the king could no longer cope with it unaided. The employment of *purohits* or family priests, formerly optional, now became a sacred duty if the sacrifices were not to fall into disuse. The Brâhman obtained a monopoly of the priestly functions, and a race of sacerdotal specialists arose which tended continually to close its ranks against the intrusion of outsiders.' Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, s.v. Brâhman.

In the earliest Vedic days the only distinction between Ârya and Dasyu was that of race or colour (*varṇa*). A famous verse in the Rig Veda (ix. 112) says:

'Behold I am a maker of hymns: my father is a physician, my mother grinds corn on the stone: *we are all of different occupations*.'

Caste, to a large extent, is occupational in origin. The early Âryan tribes included warriors, priests, and farmers, whose occupations tended to become traditional and hereditary, although at first transition from one class to another was easy. Thus Viśvamitra, a Kshatriya, became a Brâhman, as did the descendants of Garga. Priests of various castes and tribes assumed the title of Brâhman. The ascendancy of the Brâhmans was chiefly due to their monopoly of the Vedas, which they cherished as a closely-guarded secret. An early record of the struggle between the priestly and the warrior classes is preserved in the story of the incarnation of Vishnu as Paraśurâma, the Brâhman who slew the Kshatriyas. See V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, pp. 34–8.]

[2] [The *Saptarshi*, or Seven Ṛishis, the eponymous ancestors of the Brâhman *gotras*, are Jamadagni, Bharadvâja, Gautama, Kaśyapa, Vaśishta, Agastya, and Atri. For Arundhatī see p. 325, note 4.]

trace their descent. Perhaps the first tangible schism among the Brahmins (for the Hindoo scriptures contain none of the modern caste names) may be traced to the time of the great Brahminical reformer, Shunkur Âchâryâ,[1] who appeared about a century and a half before Christ to oppose the Buddhist doctrines. He found dissensions existing among the Brahmins themselves, who held each to their favorite 'Ved,'[2] and proscribed those who preferred another of the four. The great reformer recommended that flesh should not be eaten, thus, in concession to the popular appreciation of Buddhism, keeping out of sight the Veds which prescribe animal sacrifice; he also advised that Brahmins should follow the Ved which each held hereditarily, without enmity to the followers of the other three. However, though striving to compose schism, Shunkur Âchâryâ was unintentionally the cause of it. After his death his name became a watchword of faction, and Brahmins who were hitherto separated only by the Vindhya range of mountains, became henceforth divided into two sects, one of whom adopted, and the other opposed, the tenets of the reformer. The Goud Brahmins, who retained the use of animal food, and the Drâvid Brahmins, who relinquished it, would now no longer consent to drink from each other's cups.[3]

[1] [Śankarāchārya was a Malabar Brāhman theologian who lived, according to the latest authority (*J.R.A.S.*, 1916, p. 156), in the ninth century, from 805 to 897 (*not* a century and a half B. C.). He headed a great reaction against Buddhism and Jainism, which had gained an immense hold in India since the reigns of Aśoka (273–232 B. C.) and his grandson Samprati. Śankarāchārya preached all over India, as far north as Kashmīr, denouncing Buddhist heresies, and advocating a return to the teaching of the Upanishads. He was the author of commentaries on the Vedānta Sūtras, the Gītā, and the Upanishads. He held that the true doctrine of the Vedānta is *advaita*, or Monism. Nothing is real except Spirit, Brāhman; Matter in all its forms is *Māyā*, Illusion.]

[2] [Brāhmans are divided into sects according to the Veda which was originally the hereditary study of their family. Hence we have Rigvedi, Sāmavedi, and Black or White Yajurvedi Brāhmans. These are further subdivided into *shākās*, or branches, according to the different branches of the Veda to which they devoted themselves.]

[3] [Brāhmans all over India fall into two great divisions, Pāñch Gauda and Pāñch Dravida. The Narbadā is the dividing line. On this subject and the Brāhmans of Gujarāt generally the fullest information will be found in J. Wilson, *Indian Caste*, vol. ii, Bombay, 1877.]

The Brahmins of Goozerat are believed to be subdivided into more castes than those of any other part of India. The origin of the Owdich caste, which is the most numerous, has been described in the history of Mool Râj, King of Unhilwârâ.[1] They were called Owdich because they came from the north, and Suhusrâ, because those who came on the first occasion were about one thousand in number. From the places of their residence they assumed the names of Sidhpooreeâ and Seehoreeâ Owdich, and the branches thus formed gradually fell into distinct customs. The party who continued to refuse the gifts of Mool Râj, formed a separate caste called Tolukeeâ Owdich. Since that time some of the members of the caste, falling into poverty, and being compelled to accept of the office of family priest to cobblers, tailors, minstrels, and others, and even to Koolees, have been excommunicated, and have formed so many further subdivisions. Others, settling in the city of Surat, or passing into the countries of Kutch, Wâgur, and Marwar, and there gradually adopting distinct customs from those authorized at home, have separated from the main body of the caste, and assumed such local names as that of Marwar Owdich Brahmins.

The Shreemâlee Brahmins possess a scripture which they assert to be a portion of one of the Poorâns. It informs them that their ancestors were sent for from all quarters at the time when the city of Shreemâl (now called Beenmâl), in Jhâlor, was founded, and that they then first became a local caste. Mâgh, one of the most celebrated of the Sanscrit poets, was a Shreemâlee Brahmin. When the town of Shreemâl fell into decay, many of the Brahmins, bringing their family goddess with them, came to Unhilwârâ, then in the ascendant, and settled either there or in other parts of Goozerat, or in Kutch or Soreth. Others settled in Marwar or Mewar. A large number adopted the Jain faith for a subsistence, and were thence called 'Bhojuks' or 'eaters'.[2] The Shreemâlee Brahmins are divided into the followers of the Yujoor, and those

[1] See vol. i, pp. 62–5. [*Audīchya* means Northerner. The Audich Brāhmans say they came from Kurukshetra. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. i. 161, viii. 145.]

[2] [See *Bombay Gazetteer*, VIII, p. 145 and IX. i, p. 8.]

of the Sâm Ved, and there are seven 'gotras,' or tribes, of each, which, however, except in Goozerat, associate and intermarry. As well as the Owdich, the Shreemâlee caste traces its descent to Goutum, the Sage. There is at the present moment a struggle for supremacy between the two castes in the western districts of Goozerat.

Brahmins will usually eat together, though they decline intermarriages. There is, however, one caste of Brahmins in Goozerat, the Nâgur, which will not even eat with another caste.[1] The original seat of the Nâgur Brahmins in Goozerat was Wurnugger, one of the oldest cities in the province, the foundation of which has been assigned by tradition to the race of Kunuk Sen. When Veesul Dev Chohân built Veesulnugger[2] he caused to be performed a sacrifice, which was attended by many Wurnugger Brahmins. These refused to receive alms from the king, but Veesul Dev, resorting to a stratagem, forced upon some of them the acceptance of grants of land. They were excommunicated by the body of the caste, and founded the Veesulnugger Nâgur sect. Similar occurrences at Sâtod and other places produced the Sâtodra, the Cheetrodâ, the Prushunorâ, and the Krushunorâ Nâgur Brahmins. Of this caste there is a division called 'Bârud,' composed of persons who, finding themselves unable to procure a wife in their own caste, have taken one from another. They are much despised after such a marriage, and compelled to quit their native village ; but the sect continues, notwithstanding, to increase. Their women, contrary to ordinary practice, are permitted to remarry.

These are the principal divisions of the Brahmin sect in Goozerat, though by no means the whole of them. It is usually said that there are eighty-four castes of Brahmins.

It is stated in the Bhâgwut Poorân that Mureechee Reeshee, the son of Brumhâ, had a son, Kusyup, whose son, Soorya (the

[1] [The Nāgar Brāhmans seem to have been originally Maitrakas who came from the north with the Valabhī kings. Their home is conjectured to have been Nagarkot or Kāngra in the Panjāb, where there is a famous shrine of Devī (D. R. Bhandarkar 'Guhilot', in *J. A. S. B.*, 1909, pp. 167, 184 ; *I.A.*, 1911, p. 33).]

[2] See vol. i, p. 97. [Also *I.G.* xxiv, 292–3, and 321–2.]

sun,) or Veevuswân, became a Kshutreeya. Mureechee's brother, Utree, had also a son named Som or Chundra (names of the moon), and he, too, was a warrior. The great majority of the Rajpoot clans deduce their descent from either Soorya or Chundra. In the commentary on a Sanscrit work called *Rutun Kosh*, it is said that the first of the Kshutreeya race was Munoo, and that from him sprung thirty-six tribes, of whom some acquired surnames by valiant exploits, some attained the rank of kings, others fell to that of cultivators, or even became lost in the Shoodra caste. Chund Bhârot states that when the Sages dwelt on Mount Aboo, and were annoyed by the Usoors, or demons, Wushisht, one of their number, created from a sacrificial pit of fire four Kshutreeyas—Pureehâr, Solunkhee, Purmâr, and Chohân. From these sprung the thirty-six Rajpoot clans, which he thus enumerates :—

The Sun, the Moon, the Jâduv [1] races,
Kukoosth, Purmâr, and Tonwur,
Châhoowân,[2] Châlook,[3]
Chind,[4] Silâr, Ābheewur,
Doyamutt,[5] Mukwân,[6]
Gurooâ Gohil, Gahiloot,
Châpotkut,[7] Pureehâr,
Râv Râthor the angry,
Deorâ, Thânk, Sindhuv, Unig,

[1] The Jâduv or Yâduv to which the Râs of Soreth belonged. [2] Chohân. [3] Solunkhee. [4] Chundel. [5] Dâheemâ. [6] Mukwânâ or Jhâlâ. [7] Chowra. [As we have seen, the Rājpūts are *not* the descendants of the ancient Āryan Kshatriyas, but to a large extent are descended from Maitrakas, Śakas, Hūṇas, &c., from the North-West. There is still a small Rājpūt tribe bearing the last-mentioned name. Rājpūts are Lunar, Solar, and Agnikula. The Yādus were the leading Lunar clan, their chief being Krishna. They were probably Śakas who invaded Western India in the first and second centuries A.C. The leading clan of the Solar race was that of the Sesodias or Gehlots of Chitor, who claimed descent from Rāma. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown that they were connected with the Nāgar Brāhmans and probably were Maitrakas. The Agnikulas (among whom Forbes wrongly includes the Solar Rāthors) were supposed to have been created out of the fire-pit on Mount Ābu to replace the Kshatriyas massacred by Paraśurāma. The legend has been thought by some authorities to refer to the massacre of the Buddhists and Jains by the invading Hūṇas and Gurjaras, who became upholders of orthodox Hinduism. See V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd edition, p. 414, &c., and Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*]

Yotik, Pruteehâr, Dudheekhuth,
Kârutpâl, Kotpâl, Hoon,
Hureetuth, Gor, Kumâd, Jutt,
Dhyânpâluk, Nikoombh great,
Râjpâl lords of earth,
Kâluchur last of all.
I have named the thirty-six races.

The common version now given by Bards is that five Rajpoots—Purmâr, Râthor, Jáduv, Châhoowân, and Solunkhee—sprang from the fire-pit, and that from these descend ninety-nine clans. The Rajpoot tribes still maintain that they are true Kshutreeyas, though the Brahmins deny that the warrior caste has any longer an existence. The reason is to be found in the affected purity, as regards food and other matters, which has crept upon the Brahmins, and in the compulsory marriage of Rajpoot ladies with the Mohummedan princes. The Kshutreeya caste is now no longer considered by other Hindoos to be next in rank to the Brahmin, its place has been usurped by the Wâneeâs, a branch of the Vaishya caste, who will not even drink water with Rajpoots, and 'Brahmin-wâneeâ' is now a synonymous expression for 'oojulee-wustee,'[1] or high-caste population. The Rajpoots use animal food and spirituous liquor, both unclean in the last degree to their puritanic neighbours, and are scrupulous in the observance of only two rules, —those which prohibit the slaughter of cows, and the remarriage of widows. The clans are not forbidden to eat together, or to intermarry, and cannot be said in these respects to form different castes.

At the residence of every Rajpoot chief are to be found a number of female servants, either themselves purchased as slaves when young, or the descendants of women who have been thus purchased. They are of all castes, and are frequently even Abyssinians; in Kâteewâr the usual name for them is *Chokree*, in the Myhee Kântâ it is *Wudhârun*. These women are reputed to be of easy virtue, and are hardly ever married at all, but if they are it is with a member of their own caste. An intrigue with them is considered disgraceful to a member of another class. When a Wudhârun is found to

[1] [*ujjali vasati*, 'fair people'.]

be with child, the Rânee, her mistress, will send for her, and compel her to disclose the name of the father, who, if a wealthy person, is compelled to pay a fine. No fault, however, is imputed to the woman. The children bear the name of Golâ, or, if they have been employed in high situations by the chief, that of Khuwâs. They remain, however, the slaves of the chief, notwithstanding their promotion. On the marriage of a chief's daughter, a certain number of male and female slaves form part of the young lady's dowry. They perform the menial duties of the household, and used sometimes to accompany the corpse of their chief to the funeral pile, and burn themselves thereupon.

Vaishyas are still employed principally in agriculture and commerce. The most usual cultivators in Goozerat are the Koonbees, who are divided into the three great branches of Lewâ, Kuruwâ, and Ânjunâ. They assert themselves to be of Kshutreeya descent, and many of them even use the surnames of Rajpoot clans. Of the trading classes, the principal are the Wâneeâs, already mentioned, who form eighty-four distinct castes, deriving names principally from districts or towns. These castes are again subdivided, as into right and left hand, or into Dushâ and Veeshâ, names implying degrees of rank, and derived from words signifying ten and twenty. The Wâneeâs are still further divided by religious differences, as into Meshrees or Vaishnavite Hindoos, and Shrâwuks or Jains. The genealogists of the Wâneeâs, Jain monks, or bards, as the case may be, derive their descent commonly from some Rajpoot clan. Intermarriage is not allowed where the parties are reputed to be of the same descent.

Persons who perform duties which are considered to be menial, are classed as Shoodras,—such as barbers, link-bearers, washermen, and others. The aboriginal tribes, Bheels, Koolees, Meenâs, Mairs, and others, are also Shoodras, as are the classes sometimes considered to be outcaste. With these, difference of occupation constitutes difference of caste. In the territories of Hindoo chiefs, Shoodras are not permitted to abandon their hereditary occupations, nor are they allowed to dress themselves in handsome clothes, or to build houses of the better class. In former days, the lowest castes were wholly excluded from

the towns, and compelled to exhibit a distinguishing dress.[1] The Shoodras have, notwithstanding, their bards and genealogists, who feed their vanity with the assertion that they were originally Kshutreeyas. Even the outcastes bear the surnames of Chohân, Wâghela, and others, and are attended by the Toorees, as their minstrels, and the Gurodhâs, as their family priests, which latter wear an imitation of the badge of the regenerate, and assert themselves to be of the blood of the Brahmins. The outcastes are, as to religion, frequently followers of Kubeer, who proclaimed the, to them acceptable, doctrine that one caste was in no way different from another. Even these, however, are subdivided into Dhers and Olgânâs, of whom the former would be defiled and excommunicated were they to eat with the latter. Lastly, it is necessary to observe, that even the Olgânâ is still a Hindoo, and superior, as such, to a Mlech, or one who is not a Hindoo. A Mohummedan sovereign, as the story goes, asked his Hindoo minister, which was the lowest caste of all. The minister begged for leisure to consider his reply, and having obtained it, went to where the Dhers lived, and said to them, 'You have given 'offence to the padishah. It is his intention to deprive you of 'caste, and make you Mohummedans.' The Dhers, in the greatest terror, posted off in a body to the sovereign's palace, and, standing at a respectful distance, shouted at the top of their lungs, 'If we've offended your majesty, punish us in some 'other way than that. Beat us, fine us, hang us if you like, but 'don't make us Mohummedans.' The padishah smiled, and turning to his minister, who sat by affecting to hear nothing of the matter, said, 'So the lowest caste is that to which I belong!'

Among the Jains, religion consists principally in the practice of austerities, and in the avoiding to destroy life; caste restrictions are not prescribed to them. The Shrâwuks, however, practice many usages common to other Hindoos. If one have come into contact with an outcaste, he touches fire or water to purify himself. Like other Hindoos, if he have occasion to receive anything from a Dher, he causes him to set it down on the ground, and then purifies it with fire or water, before he

[1] *Vide* the story of Jusmâ, the Odun, vol. i, pp. 109 ff.

takes it up. Even shepherds and Koolees incur pollution by touching Dhers, which they remove in a similar manner.

'The shepherds, Bhugwán and Rodo,' said a Koolee, in the course of his evidence before a criminal court, in Goozerat, in August, 1853, 'came to me, and said they had both touched 'Dhers, and become impure, and asked me to give them fire. 'I took a lighted coal out of my hookah, and each of them 'touched his forehead with it. I threw it down, and they 'then took my hookah, and smoked.' In other words, they were then purified, otherwise he could not have given them his hookah.

An additional cause of subdivisions among castes, is the great expense incurred in their public entertainments. A rich person who desires to render himself popular, will supply at one of these more costly entertainment than is usually provided, or continue the feast for a day longer. Others, unwilling to be out-done, exert themselves to follow the precedent which at length becomes so completely established that even the poorer members of the caste are compelled to comply with it, even if they borrow the means of doing so. These latter are glad enough, in this state of things, to avail themselves of the first caste-dispute which occurs, as an opportunity for seceding. If a considerable portion of the caste be of one mind, they have no difficulty in effecting a separation; but where the non-contents are few in number, they are subjected to great annoyance. The body of the caste refuse to associate or have any dealings with them, to contract marriages with their children, to furnish them with fire, or to permit them to draw water from the public well. The wives or married daughters of the excommunicated persons are kept from them, and their dead lie unburied, until by submission, or other means, they can prevail upon their caste fellows, who alone are competent to do so, to carry out the corpse to the funeral pile.

In some castes, a man is allowed to marry as many wives as he pleases,—a Rajpoot sometimes marries twenty, an Owdich Brahmin frequently five or six; in other castes, a man may not marry a second time in the life-time of his first wife. Rajpoots never permit the re-marriage of a widow, but in

some of the other castes, a woman may re-marry more than once. Sometimes it is allowed to a husband and wife, who disagree, to separate by mutual consent, which is signified on the part of the woman, by her tearing the hem of her garment, and on that of the man, by his giving his wife a deed of release. In some castes, it is considered indispensably necessary that girls should be married before they are twelve years old ; in others, a husband of high family is much sought for, and women remain unmarried at the age of thirty. Some castes consider the non-performance of certain funeral ceremonies, a sufficient ground for excommunication ; in other castes, these ceremonies are wholly neglected.

There are various restrictions in regard to food, any departure from which subjects a person to excommunication. The general rule is that food which has been prepared for persons of another, and particularly of an inferior, caste, must not be eaten. If food, preparing for a Brahmin, be touched by a Shoodra, it is henceforth fit only for Shoodras to eat. In some castes, food may not be removed beyond the place in which it has been prepared. There are similar restrictions in regard to vessels. A Brahmin, having used a vessel, must wash it with water before he can use it again, but a Vaishya satisfies the rules of his caste if he clean it with ashes. Vessels of zinc, stone, tin, wood, or earthenware, belonging to people of other castes, cannot be used by Brahmins, and, if any such vessel belonging to themselves, happened to be touched by a Vaishya or Shoodra, it is rendered useless to them. Scruples, in regard to water, are sometimes compelled to give way by the necessity of the case. The general rule, however, is that Hindoos cannot drink water which has been placed in vessels belonging to persons of other castes, and that their own vessels are rendered impure by the touch of these. In Western Goozerat, however, where there is great difficulty about water in the hot weather, it is customary for Brahmins to use brass or copper vessels belonging to persons of other castes, after they have scrubbed them well with dust and water, and washed them. A leathern bucket need only be washed, because, having come originally from the house of the tanner, who is a person of very low caste, it is supposed that no further defilement can happen to it.

Some puritanical Brahmins will neither drink water which has been drawn in a leathern bucket, nor even use it for ablutions. In parts of Western Goozerat there is frequently but one well in a village, in which case the outcastes draw water on one side of it, and retire, and the Brahmins and other castes, when they are gone, come and draw water from the other side. It is usually the case that there are many wells in a village, and that one is specially set apart for outcastes. The well is defiled if a dog or other animal have fallen into it, and, for its purification, water must be drawn from it five times, and Ganges water, or cow's urine, poured into it. If a Brahmin or Wâneeâ woman, returning home with water from the well, meet a funeral, she will sometimes throw away the water at once as defiled, sometimes veil herself, and move aside averting her face, and, if the corpse be not carried within a few paces of where she stands, the water is preserved from defilement. The dead body of an animal defiles also, and, if one happen to lie on the way to the well, no water is procurable until it has been removed, and the ground has been purified. Some women will throw away the water if a crow alight on the vessel and put his beak into it, but, as the case is rather a common one, other women take no notice of it. The custom is, perhaps, connected with a superstition which prevails in Goozerat, as it prevailed in England and other European countries, that the crow is a bird of ill omen.

CHAPTER II

THE CULTIVATORS

THE cultivators of Goozerat do not live, as those of European countries do, each upon his own farm, but are invariably concentrated into villages. By the term village is strictly meant, not merely the collection of dwellings which the cultivators inhabit, but the whole area which is in their occupation. A large part of the province is, as we have said, covered with groves of stately trees. Where foliage is less common, as in the districts lying contiguous to the Runn of Kutch, a grove of trees is the usual accompaniment of a village. Like the towns, each village has its neighbouring stream or tank, and most frequently its mosque and temple. The fields are, in the richer parts of the province, enclosed with strong and high permanent hedges, which, with the noble trees that everywhere abound, render the country so close that the boundaries of a field circumscribe the view, and unless the hum of voices, the whirr of the spinning-wheel, or the barking of dogs, gives him notice of its vicinity, the traveller may enter a village almost unawares. Hedges and trees here swarm with birds of many varieties, from the peacock to the sparrow ; game of all kinds is in the greatest abundance, and monkeys rove about in troops, or rather in armies. In other parts of the country, as, for instance, in the territories of the Jhâlâ chieftains, the eye ranges undisturbed as if over a sheet of water, many villages may be distinguished at a single glance, and the presence of a herd of antelopes or the approach of a score of horsemen may be easily perceived at a distance of miles.

The cultivators are an industrious and orderly class of people, simple in their mode of life. They rise before daybreak, and, throwing grass before their bullocks, busy themselves for a few minutes in certain domestic affairs. By the time the cattle have finished their food, they are themselves ready for the field, to which they now set out, driving the beasts before them. They remain the whole of the day employed in the agricultural

operations of the season. About nine o'clock their wives, having prepared their breakfast at home, bring it out to them in the field, and they return home for their evening meal, which is served soon after sunset. Some of the Koonbees, however, eat four times a day.

The Koonbee, though frequently all submission and prostration when he makes his appearance in a revenue office, is sturdy and bold enough among his own people. He is fond of asserting his independence, and the helplessness of others without his aid, on which subjects he has several proverbs, as: 'Wherever it thunders, there the Koonbee is a land-holder,' or, 'Tens of millions follow the Koonbee, but the Koonbee 'follows no man.'[1] The Koonbee and his bullocks are inseparables, and, in speaking of the one, it is difficult to dissociate the other. His pride in these animals is excusable, for they are most admirably suited to the circumstances in which nature has placed them, and possess a very widely-extended fame. When Prince Kurun, of Mewar, was received, after his defeat by the Emperor Jehangeer,[2] and that prince was anxious to treat him with unusual respect, he seated him, it is said, on his right hand, and presented him, among other rarities and choice things of every kind, with a pair of the bullocks of Goozerat. The Koonbee, however, frequently exhibits his fondness for his animals in the somewhat peculiar form of most unmeasured abuse. 'May the Kâtees seize you!' is his objurgation, if in the peninsula of Soreth; if in the Eedur district, or among the mountains, it is then, 'May the tiger kill 'you!' all over Goozerat, 'May your master die!'[3] however, he means, by this, the animal's former owner, not himself; and when more than usually cautious, he will word his chiding thus, 'May the fellow that sold you to me perish!'

When the festival called Ukhâturee comes round, which it

[1] 'Unde vivent oratores si defecerint aratores,' says Ordericus Vitalis.

[2] ['The inglorious war with Mewār (Udaipur), which had gone on for so many years, was ended in 1614 by the submission of Rānā Amar Singh and his son Karan to Prince Khurram.' V. A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, 1919, p. 381.]

[3] *Vide* Dean Swift's Mrs. Harris's petition,—

'The *devil* take me (said she, blessing herself) if ever I saw 't.'

does early in Wyeshâk (May), the chief of a village collects the cultivators, and tells them that it is time for them to commence work. They say, 'No! the assessment was too heavy 'last year, you laid too many taxes upon us; besides, we have 'in truth, no master over our heads; people burn our houses, 'and lay waste our lands, and you afford us no protection, and 'do not go on the wâr.' The chief makes sundry excuses, the most usual and convenient of which is, that everything is the fault of that rascal of a mehtâ (his man of business), whom he protests his intention of dismissing at once. As to the cultivators, no one can have greater affection for them than he has; they are, in fact, his sons and daughters. Nor does the chief altogether over-state his feelings in this point; for he is well aware that his lands are of no value to him without the aid of the cultivators, and that in Goozerat, as in other countries of the east, 'In the multitude of people is the king's 'honour, but in the want of people is the destruction of the 'prince.'[1] After much haggling, and when the chief has presented the head-men of the village with turbans, and made liberal promises of remission of rent, the auspicious day is at length fixed upon, and cultivation is commenced. The first step is to remove the stalks of the last year's wheat or cotton, and to lay down manure, which the cultivators have collected in their dung heaps, or perhaps the slime of a dried-up tank, upon lands intended for irrigation. Ploughing, sowing, and the other operations of agriculture follow in order, a general notion of which may be gathered from the following ballad, entitled 'The Koonbee's griefs,' which is a favorite song of the wives of cultivators in Goozerat.

Hear, Shree Krishn! our prayers;
The Koonbee's griefs we relate.
Our sorrows remove, thou who art the earth-sustainer;
Râm! as you place us we remain.
    Hear, Shree Krishn! our prayers.

July comes, the clouds rise;
They begin to pour forth rain:
The cart-rope, and the goad are in the Koonbee's hand;
Wet is the Koonbee's body.
    Hear, Shree Krishn! our prayers.

[1] *Vide* Proverbs, xiv, 28.

In August it rains uncertainly ;
Drenched through are both men and women ;
Says the son's wife to her father-in-law,
'Bâbâjee ! please to plant a little rice.'
Hear, Shree Krishn ! our prayers.

September comes in well ;
Drenched are the Koonbee women ;
The children on their hips are crying ;
Rain-drops fall from the bundles of grass upon their heads.
Hear, Shree Krishn ! our prayers.

In October we hoped would come
The rain that we were looking for ;
Jowâree and bâjuree [1] are filling in the head ;
The rice is drying up from the drought.
Hear, Shree Krishn ! our prayers.

In November comes the assessment-maker ;
At the village boundary he makes up his book :
The raja's order is now proclaimed,—
'A plant of pulse or a stalk of jowâree you must not remove.'
Hear, Shree Krishn ! our prayers.

December has come in well :
The first instalment has begun to be levied :
Head-man and accountant mount to the town-house,
The Koonbee gets many a blow.
Hear, Shree Krishn ! our prayers.

In January is sown the second crop :
The cotton pods begin to burst ;
Old restrictions are removed,
But they only make way for new.
Hear, Shree Krishn ! our prayers.

February month has well come in ;
Green are the village fields :
The raja's dues are paid off,
But frost now threatens to fall.
Hear, Shree Krishn ! our prayers.

March month has well come in,
But the blight has struck our wheat.
'Come, let us leave this place, and fly.'
It is too late, for the head-man has set his guards.
Hear, Shree Krishn ! our prayers.

[1] Two kinds of grain, 'large maize,' and *Holcus spicatus.*

In April they meet at the town-house;
'Come! let us have your rent.'
They plunder the earnings of the widow's spinning-wheel;
They carry off all by force.
Hear, Shree Krishn! our prayers.

In May come the land-holders,
They plunder us of the produce of our cows:
For want of butter-milk the children are crying;
But the cursed ones go on with their snatching.
Hear, Shree Krishn! our prayers.

June month has come in well;
The angry Koonbee is appeased:
Oaths and promises they pledge to him—
He spreads his fields with manure.
Hear, Shree Krishn! our prayers.

The twelve months' round is finished,
In Roopá the Koonbeen's song,
Whoever learns it, or hears it sung,
Will be advanced towards Vishnoo's heaven.
Hear, Shree Krishn! our prayers.

When the crop is ripe, the raja, or chief, goes in person, or sends his man of business, to assess the fields. This is done in different ways, of which the most common are the following:—The land-holder, or his agent, taking with him the head-man of the village, goes to each field. The head-man points out what he considers to be the amount of the crop, for example, that in his opinion there will be so many measures of grain on each acre. The land-holder, too, makes his own calculation. The cultivator, when he hears the amount of the latter, breaks in with the exclamation, 'Lord of the earth! so much as that 'will never be produced; and I, who am a poor man, shall 'be utterly destroyed!' Much haggling takes place; and at length a conclusion is come to which the Koonbee is sure to protest against, though the result be far more favorable than he anticipated. The cultivator now furnishes security that he will pay the landlord's share, and receives permission to cut his crop.

The land-holder's share of the produce is different in different places: sometimes, as in Jhâlâwâr, about one-third; sometimes a half, or two-thirds. Rice-crops, and others which

are watered from tanks or wells, pay frequently one-third. Autumnal crops of wheat and barley, on irrigated land, frequently a fourth. In some cases, the landlord's share of the produce is nominally very small; but his revenue is made up by a poll-tax on the bullocks and labourers employed. In regard to autumnal crops of wheat, raised without irrigation (called châsheeâ), which are very common in the Bhâl, and other districts, a wholly different system was invented by a Rajpoot land-holder of the Choorâsumâ clan. According to this system the number of the triple furrows made by the plough in sowing are counted. One part of the field will probably bear a better crop than another part; and three divisions of the field are therefore generally made. The first, middle, and last furrows of each division are then cut, and the grain threshed out and weighed. The amount is multiplied by the number of furrows, and the average produce thus ascertained. A maund per acre is deducted for seed, and ten per cent. for the cultivator's labour. The remainder is divided into two equal shares, of which the landlord takes one, and the cultivator the other.

The most ancient system of assessment, however, is as follows:—The cultivators are allowed to cut their grain, under the restriction that they pile it in separate heaps in the village grain-yard. The grain is threshed out by bullocks. There is now a grand meeting of landlords, village head-men, men of business, wâneeâs to weigh the grain, cultivators, and watchmen, at the granary; and the grain is weighed and distributed. First, about a fortieth part is set aside as a fee to the chieftain, next, something less, for the man of business, the village-sergeant, pocket-money for the chief's heir-apparent, the village watchmen, the wâneeo who weighs the grain, the head-men of the village, the temple of the Devee, or of Vishnoo, the tank, the dogs, and other petty claims, too numerous to detail. When the weighing out is nearly finished, the cultivator will lay hands forcibly on the weights, and cry, 'That is 'enough now:' and the remnant is left to him, under the name of 'spoiled.' When all claims have been satisfied, the remainder of the grain is equally divided between the cultivator and the landlord. The ancient practice appears to have

been merely to measure roughly with a basket, without weighing.[1]

When a chief has to portion a daughter, or to incur other similar necessary expense, he has the right of imposing a levy upon the cultivators to meet it. He sometimes also gives to the genealogical bard of the family, or to some other person of the mendicant class, the right of receiving a small duty upon each plough, or of taking a measure of grain from every heap in the grain-yard. These grants may be made for a single year or permanently. Sometimes the tax is laid in the shape of a certain sum to be realised out of the revenue of each of the chief's villages.

It is unfortunately matter of notoriety that, speaking generally, all the cultivators and holders of land in Goozerat are in debt to such an extent that they have no means of their own of extricating themselves from their difficulties. The creditors are for the most part Goozerat wâneeâs of the Meshree (Vaishnavite) or Shrâwuk (Jain) classes. A wâneeo commencing life spends his time partly in a large town and partly in some remote country village. He borrows a few rupees at interest in the town with which he purchases small supplies of clarified butter, oil, molasses, and other such articles, and thus stocks his village shop. The cultivators having no money at hand, barter small quantities of their grain or cotton for as much oil as will keep their evening lamp burning for an hour, or for little supplies of groceries. They are perfectly unaware of the market-value of their raw produce, and are quite satisfied that they have made a bargain if the wâneeo with a politic shew of liberality throws in a little more of the article he is selling under the name of a bonus. Having collected a sufficient quantity of raw produce, the trader carries it to the town, and sells it there at a favorable rate, and his capital thus augmented, he returns to the village to commence operations on a larger scale. A cultivator, perhaps, has lost his bullock; the wâneeo steps forward immediately to lend him money, at interest, to supply his loss. Or, perhaps, the Koonbee is engaged in marrying his

[1] An improved revenue system is gradually maturing in the districts subject to the British government, to which we can only here allude.

child, or in performing the funeral rites of his parent; the trader will advance him money to supply him with the clarified butter, molasses, clothes, or other articles which are indispensable on these occasions, charging for them twice their value. Sometimes the cultivator prefers to make his own purchases in the town, but he must then take the wâneeo with him to act as broker between him and the town-dealer, for he feels that the latter will otherwise charge him anything he pleases, and besides he has no money, and cannot borrow it except from the village lender, for the curious feeling in regard to rights, which is so prevalent among the Hindoos, applies here, and the village wâneeo will consider his property invaded if any other trader propose to deal with his constituents. On these transactions the wâneeo of course gains largely. Sometimes, however, he will say to the cultivator, 'I have no 'ready money, but if you will tell me what you want we will 'go together and purchase it, and it shall be put down to my 'account.' He takes care, moreover, to hint to his victim what praises he has heard of the liberality of the family, and how necessary it is that their honor should be maintained by a large expenditure on the present occasion. He adds, that such celebrations do not happen every day, but only once or twice in a life-time, that the money will not be thrown away, and that nothing is easier than to make it up again. He will also say, 'I have every confidence in you, and am ready to 'advance you any sum you wish.' In this way, flattering his pride, he easily plunges him deeply into debt.

There is nothing more adverse to the prosperity of the Hindoos, than this unfortunate feeling of theirs in regard to money and expenditure. With them a mercantile man has 'âbroo' (honour), he is a respectable man, nay, a great man—'a muhâjun'—by which they merely mean, that he is wealthy, though he may be, indeed he too frequently is, selfish meanness itself. Similarly, a land-owner or cultivator is 'dheeruj-'wâlo'—a courageous, high-spirited man—that is to say, he plunges himself into irretrievable difficulties, merely because he has not strength of mind sufficient to enable him to despise the tittle-tattle of his neighbourhood.

But, to return to our wâneeo: when the occasion for all this

extravagant expenditure has passed away, the wâneeo demands his bond. He tells the cultivator, 'You have so much to pay 'to the ghee-dealer, so much to the cloth-seller,' and so on, to all of which the cultivator assents. The wâneeo says, 'now 'give me my *kothulee chorâmun*,' meaning a fee for loosening the purse-strings, which must be paid in ready money, for luck or as a good omen. The cultivator procures one per cent., in ready money, from wherever he can, and pays it. He has further, also, to make a present, not only to the person who writes, but also to those who attest the bond. Interest is stipulated for at two per cent. per mensem, or, if the terms are unusually moderate, at one. The bond prepared, the cultivator scrawls beneath it his mark—a rude representation of a plough. When the next crop is ready, and the government share has been paid, the creditor exerts himself to carry off all that remains; the cultivator, with much entreaty, obtains enough to subsist upon for a short time, and he is credited on account of the remainder with whatever the wâneeo may be pleased to allow him. Sometimes the trader carries off nearly the whole, and, when the cultivator talks about a subsistence, says, 'What need you care? When 'yours is done you can have as much as you like from my 'shop.' Thus the cultivator is driven to the wâneeo's shop for grain to eat, and grain to sow his field with. The terms of lending are, that the borrower shall repay twice the quantity of grain he takes away, when his crop ripens. The next harvest comes round, but now all the grain which is left, after the payment of the government demands, goes to pay for that which was borrowed last year, and there is nothing left to pay the interest of the bond. This, then, must be added to the principal, and so the bond goes on swelling year by year—the trader (who is well aware of the practice of the courts of justice) taking care to have it periodically renewed, and carefully closing every loop-hole through which his victim might escape.[1]

[1] The very poverty of these usurers makes them unmerciful creditors. 'A rich oppressor,' it has been said, 'leaves a man poor, but a poor 'oppressor leaves to him nothing.'

'A poor man that oppresseth the poor, is a sweeping rain which leaveth no food.'—Proverbs, xxviii, 3.

The creditor will now probably reside principally in the town, and on his occasional visits to the village he puts up at the house of his debtor, who is obliged to maintain him as long as he remains there. If the wâneeo have a son to marry, or a pilgrimage to perform, the debtor is obliged to lend him his cart and bullocks, and on such occasions he must also come forward with the usual present. The money-lender has by this time begun to assume a very high tone, and to demand payment, threatening to sell the cultivator's house or his bullocks ; in fact, as a villager would say, 'He becomes more 'oppressive than a raja.'

In a few years the wâneeo, having thus made himself the master of numerous cultivators, amasses a large sum of money. He now turns his attention to a higher prey, and seeks to become the creditor of local chiefs and land-owners. His first step is to get himself introduced to the chief's man of business, whom he gains over by gifts and promises. This agent accordingly takes the first opportunity of praising the trader in the chief's presence, and intimating his readiness to advance as much money as may be wished for. When occasion arrives, money is accordingly borrowed from the Sowkâr or Shet (at which dignity the wâneeo has now arrived), and the man of business prepares a bond, and brings it to the land-owner for his signature. The chief haggles like a child for a sum of ready money to be presented to him as the price of his affixing his seal, but cares little or nothing about what there is in the bond, never reflecting for a moment that he is likely to be called upon to fulfil his agreement. A few transactions of this kind lead to the inevitable termination. The Sowkâr sues in the Court of Justice ; the man of business (who has carefully abstained from keeping any account, lest his own peculations should be exposed), deserts his master in the hour of need ; the chief attempts to defend the suit, and while he admits that he has signed the bond, urges that he is not really indebted to one-tenth of the extent asserted ; he is informed that he must produce his accounts in order to prove his defence, and when he states that his agent never kept any, is told further that this is merely a false statement, made because the production of the books called for would prove

the validity of the plaintiff's claim. The chief has, of course, no further defence; a decree is therefore passed, and his estate is attached.

We shall return to this subject in a following Chapter; meanwhile, we beg of our readers to believe that although we have selected a prominent case as best suited to the purpose of illustration, we have, nevertheless, truly described a system which, with local modifications, still exists throughout the province of Goozerat.[1]

[1] Mr. Elphinstone, in A. D. 1821, alludes to this subject, in speaking 'of the hardship felt by the ryots from the exaction of the debts contracted by them during the Mahratta government, under the decrees 'of the Adawlut.'

'The root of the grievance,' he says, 'seems to be in the readiness with 'which a bond is admitted as sufficient evidence of the justice of a claim. 'In this case it is by no means so, for a ryot is easily drawn by occasional 'advances and partial payments into a complicated account, which 'it is impossible for him to unravel. This account presents a great 'balance in the lender's favour, and as the practice is for the ryot to 'give up his produce each year in part payment, and to take an advance 'to enable him to go on with the next, he is so completely in the lender's 'power that he would sign anything rather than disoblige him. The 'remedy, therefore, is to settle that in new provinces a bond shall not 'be conclusive when originating in an old debt of a ryot, but that his 'whole account shall be examined as if no bond had been executed, and 'only the amount which shall then appear fair decreed to the plaintiff. 'If the debts could be paid by instalments, regulated by the amount 'of the ryot's payment to government, it would complete the removal 'of the evil; but, at all events, steps should be taken to prohibit the 'sale of a ryot's cattle and implements of husbandry in satisfaction of 'debts.'

The Mongol Tartars appear to suffer at the hands of Chinese usurers in the same way that the Koonbees of Goozerat do at the hands of the Wáneeás:—

'"They came to us," says a Mongol, "imploring alms; we allowed 'them out of compassion to cultivate a little ground, and the Mongols 'followed their example. They drank the Chinese wine, and smoked 'their tobacco,—on credit they bought their cloth, and then, when the 'time came for settling accounts, all was charged forty or fifty per cent. 'more than its value. Then the Mongols were forced to leave all—houses, 'lands, and flocks.

'"Could you not ask justice from the tribunals?

'"Oh, that is impossible! The Kitat knows how to speak and to 'lie—*a Mongol can never gain a law suit from a Chinese.* My lord Lamas,— 'all is lost for the kingdom of Gechekten."'

See M. Huc's *Travels in Tartary*, translated by Mrs. Percy Sinnett. In another part of the work we have a description of the same state of things by an 'enormously fat Kitat,' who describes himself as '*an eater of Tartars*,' and thus accounts for the name :—

'"What! don't you know the Tartars? Don't you know that they 'are as simple as children when they come into our towns? They want 'to have everything they see; they seldom have any money, *but we 'come to their help.* We give them goods on credit, and then, of course, 'they must pay rather high. When people take away goods without 'leaving the money, of course there must be a little interest of thirty 'or forty per cent. Then by degrees the interest mounts up, and you 'come to compound interest; but that's only with the Tartars. In 'China the laws forbid it; but we who are obliged to run about the land 'of grass—we may well ask for a little extra profit. Isn't that fair? 'A Tartar debt is never paid: it goes on from generation to generation; 'every year one goes to get the interest, and it is paid in sheep, oxen, 'camels, horses—all that is a great deal better than money. We get the 'beasts at a low price, and we sell them at a very good price in the 'market. Oh! it's a capital thing, a Tartar debt! It's a mine of gold."

'The *Yao Chang Ti* (collector of debts),' adds M. Huc, 'accompanied 'this explanation of his mode of doing business with peals of laughter.'

It is not only among Tartars and Hindoos, however, that such practices prevail. What will our readers say of the following account of a very similar state of things? The extract is from *England As It Is in the Middle of the Nineteenth Century*, by William Johnston, Esq. Murray. 1851. Vol. ii, p. 200.

'"The cause of the high price of village shops," continues this 'gentleman (Mr. Johnston is quoting from a clergyman of Kent), "arises, 'I apprehend, from want of competition. A labourer (it is considered) 'is allowed credit for a small amount, and then obliged to deal, under 'fear of having his debt called for, and of thus being left destitute for the time 'It may be true that the shopkeeper, by deaths and other causes, loses 'money, but with such large profits the effect is slight; and as he knows 'everybody, he has good tact, and generally avoids a bad creditor. 'Millers commonly pursue the same system. Blankets are double the 'price of a wholesale shop in London; shoes, too, are excessively high. 'The labourer, in consequence, finds himself ill off, and complains that 'he cannot live upon his wages, when, in fact, he cannot lay them out 'to advantage. Averages and quotations serve little purpose; 'Deal 'here, or pay your debt' is the practical argument. I believe one great 'cause of the bad condition of the poor is to be found in this."

CHAPTER III

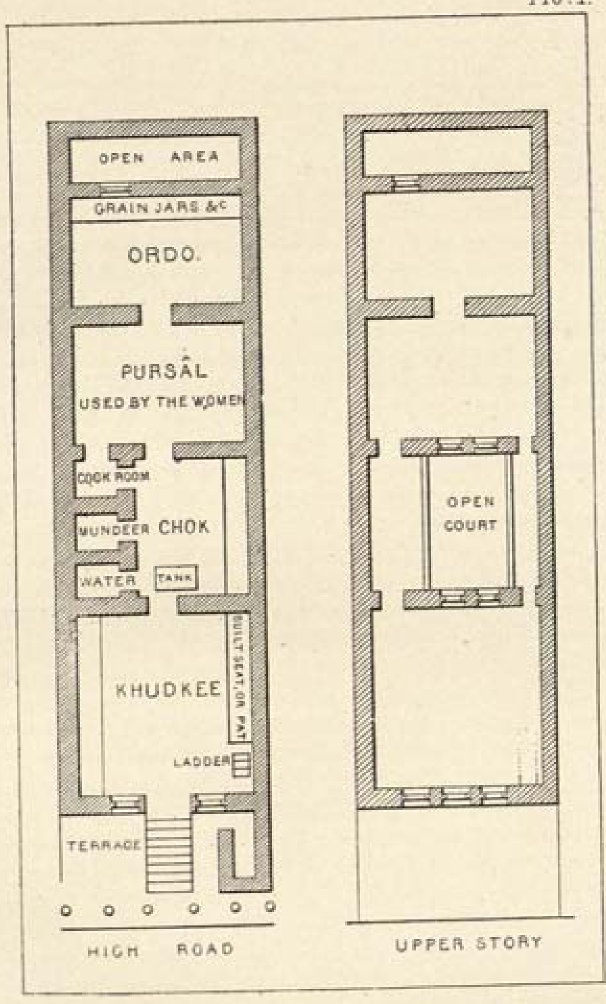
TOWN-LIFE—BRAHMINS—WÂNEEÂS—RAJPOOTS—BARDS

THE form of a town house, in Goozerat, will be better understood from the accompanying plan, than from a lengthened description. The same rooms occur in all houses, and in the same order, but the necessities of the site frequently alter the general outline of the building. In country villages, the houses contain, commonly, only the two rooms called, 'ordo,' and 'pursâl,' with a broad veranda supported on wooden pillars in front of the latter. Houses are built for the most part of burnt brick, and are covered with tiles.

The towns are usually surrounded by a wall, and divided, internally, into mehelâs, or wards, each of which contains many houses, but has only one public gateway, and constitutes a species of inner castle. The only public buildings, with the exception of government offices, are those which are devoted to religious purposes—mosques, temples, serais, Jain convents. A river, or large artificial reservoir, is the usual accompaniment of every town of any consideration, and places of worship are more or less numerous in its vicinity.

The daily routine of small householders of the Brahmin-Wâneeâ class in towns, is somewhat as follows. They rise from their beds about four o'clock in the morning, repeating the name of their tutelary divinity, as, O Muhâ Dev, O Thâkorjee (Vishnoo), O Umbâ Mother. The pundit, or Sanscrit scholar, mutters a verse ;—'I call to mind in the 'morning, the lord of the deities, the destroyer of the fear of 'death.' The Bhugut, or religious layman, chaunts the praises of his deity in the vernacular stanzas of some poet ; or, perhaps, in 'mental worship' passes over such things as the following in his mind :—

'My Dev is asleep, in a fine mansion, upon a fine bed. 'I approach him and rub his feet, upon which he awakes, 'and, throwing a shawl over his shoulders, rises from his



GROUND PLAN OF A TOWN HOUSE IN GOOZERAT

'couch. I wash his feet with warm water, and anoint him 'with scented oils and perfumes. I cause him to bathe in 'warm water, and put upon him a garment of yellow silk, 'and a pair of shawls, and fetch him a stool to sit upon. I then 'make the teeluk upon his forehead, adorn him with gold 'ornaments, and hang garlands of flowers about his neck, 'burn incense, and light lamps before him, and set before him 'rice-milk and sugar to eat. I then wave the *ârtee* before 'him, and put upon him a crown, a body coat, a waistband, 'and other clothes. I then prostrate myself before him, and 'pray to him, and the Dev is pleased with me.'

The ceremony called *ârtee*, or ârâtreek, will be explained in a subsequent chapter.

Brahmins and Bhuguts are frequently under the vow to bathe before sun-rise, in which case, as soon as they are risen, and have said their prayers, they either bathe in warm water at home or set off for that purpose to the tank or the river. After bathing they assume a silk garment that has been washed the day before, and worship. Each Brahmin has, in the Dev-mundeer, within his house, a small throne, upon which seven or eight idols are placed, as the Shâlagrâm stone (a representative of Vishnoo), Bâl Mookoond (the same deity in the form of the infant Krishn), Shiva, Gunputee, Doorgâ Devee, Sooruj (the sun), Hunoomân, or others. These images are washed, dressed in clothes, and crowns, presented with flowers and other offerings, and worshipped with the ' sixteen services ' which will hereafter be described. The morning worship of a Brahmin is sometimes thus performed :—He praises the sun, and offers to him oblations ; he then thrusts his right hand into a cloth bag, called a ' cow's-mouth,' which contains a rosary of one hundred and eight beads of the *Roodrâksh*[1] tree, which he tells over, repeating the mystic Gâyutree[2] for each bead, or the name of his patron god. Sometimes the Brahmin tells his beads four or five times over. He is now ready to take his breakfast.

The eating room is on one side of the open court, in the centre of the house. The usual meals are two in number ;

[1] *Elaeocarpus ganitrus.*

[2] [The *Gâyatri* or *Sandhya* ceremony consists in the repetition of the

but rich people sometimes eat four times a day. Breakfast is taken about ten or eleven in the forenoon, after ablutions and worship. Brahmins wash the whole body again before eating; Kshutrees and Vaishyas only the hands and feet. They then assume the yellow silk vestment, which covers them from the waist downwards, and is the sole article of dress worn at meals. Each person has a small oblong wooden stool to sit upon, and the food is placed on a similar stool or short-legged table. The vessels used are brass or copper brass—a flat round dish, containing bread and preserves, or condiments, and two or three cups of pottage and vegetables. The water-vessel, of silver or brass, with a small drinking cup set upon it, stands on one side. The second course is composed of rice and curds, or similar food. On great occasions, however, the fare is more varied and costly.

Ablutions after meals are confined to the hands and face. The men of the family eat at the same table; then the women clean the same vessels, and use them for their own breakfast. The servants take their food after the family breakfast is finished, and they use different vessels. The men chew betel-nut after meals, to prevent their incurring defilement from the touch of a person of lower caste. Such pollution, however, when it occurs, is remediable by the use of 'punch-guvya,' or the five articles derived from the cow, and by fasting for the remainder of the day.

The second meal, which is a lighter one, is eaten at about eight in the evening.

A Brahmin preparing for dinner makes a place called 'choko,' the floor of which he spreads with cow-dung and earth, moistened with water. When at home, his own 'rusodo,'

mantra (*Ṛigveda*, iii, 62, 10):

Tat Savitur vareṇyam bhargo devasya
dhīmahi, dhiyo yo naḥ prachodayāt.

'We meditate on the excellent glory of the divine Savitri: may he inspire our understanding.'

Macdonell (*Hist. of Sanskrit Literature*, 1900, p. 79) renders

'May we attain that excellent
Glory of Savitri the god,
That he may stimulate our thoughts.']

or cooking-room, is the place employed; but, if necessary, the choko may be made under the shade of a hedge by the wayside, or in any other convenient place. Upon the choko he raises a little temporary stove, which he smears in like manner with cow-dung, and thereupon he cooks his food. The Poorbeeâ, or Eastern Brahmins, carry their exclusive notions upon this point to such a length that brothers even are forbidden to use the same choko, nor may one take fire from the stove of another. Hence the saying, 'Twelve Poorbeeâs and thirteen "chokos,"' because with that number of Brahmins an extra stove would be required for the fire alone.

The Brahmin, when his food is ready, before eating, performs 'Turpun;' that is to say, he fills a copper cup with water, and puts therein a few grains of barley, some sesamum, leaves of the sacred basil tree, sandal, &c., then holding some sacrificial grass, he fills his joined hands with water, which he pours back again into the cup, saying, 'I offer (make turpun 'of) this water to all the Devs.' He proceeds to make similar offerings of water, to men, animals, trees, rivers, seas, Bhoots, Prets, Reeshees, progenitors, and others. Then he mentions the names, as many as he can recollect, of his father's ancestors, his mother's ancestors, and his own deceased friends. He now performs *hom*, or fire-sacrifice, by throwing a portion of rice and clarified butter into a little copper or earthen vessel, containing fire, repeating, while so employed, the names of the Devs. The Brahmin sets aside five portions of food for cows, beggars, dogs, ants, and crows. He then takes a little of each dish, and offers it to the Dev, in a vessel containing five divisions. He now sits down to his breakfast; but, before commencing, repeats the Gâyutree over a handful of water, with which he sprinkles his own food, and three portions which he sets apart for Brumhâ, Vishnoo, and Shiva. The first five mouthfuls he swallows are for the 'Punchprân,' or five airs supposed to be in the body and necessary to existence. At the conclusion of his repast, he deposits upon the ground a little of what remains, as an offering on behalf of the spirits residing in hell. This will no doubt appear to the reader to be a very elaborate and painful ceremonial; but long practice

enables the Brahmin to acquit himself of the performance in less time than is occupied in the description.

Brahmins frequently consider it necessary that they should observe practices of peculiar difficulty in order to maintain their superiority over the other castes. Of these the most strict is an observance of the Nâgur Brahmins, called 'Nuven,' or 'purity in regard to food.' The Brahmin, having bathed, dresses himself in silk or woollen clothes, or if he require to use cotton garments, these must be dipped in water, wrung out, and dried in some place where nothing impure can touch them. Thus habited, he sits down to dinner, but he must preserve himself from numerous accidents which would render him impure, and compel him to desist from his meal. If he touch an earthen vessel he is defiled, unless the vessel have never contained water. The touch of a piece of cotton cloth, or of a piece of leather or paper, which he may accidentally have sat down upon, renders him impure, but if Hindoo letters have been written on the paper they preserve him from defilement, because they represent 'Suruswutee.' If, however, letters be written on cloth or leather, these remain impure. Thus, if the Geetâ, or any other portion of scripture, be required for use at the time, it must be bound with silk and not with cotton; leather must be avoided, and instead of common paste of flour and water, the binder must employ paste of pounded tamarind seed. A printed book will not answer the Brahmin's purpose because printing ink contains impure matter. Some think that the touch of deer-skin or tiger-skin does not defile. Raw cotton does not render the Brahmin impure, but if it have been twisted for the wick of a lamp by a person not in the state of 'Nuven' it does; and again, if it have been dipped in oil or clarified butter it does not. Bones defile, but women's ivory armlets do not, except in those parts of the country where they are not usually worn, and then they do. The touch of a child of the same caste who has not learned how to eat grain does not defile, but if the child have eaten grain it does. The touch of a donkey, a dog, or a pig defiles; some say that the touch of a cat also defiles, others are inclined to think that it does not, because in truth it is not easy to keep the cat out. If a Brahmin who

is in 'Nuven' be eating, or if he have risen from eating, the touch of his person defiles another Brahmin who is in 'Nuven,' but has not begun his dinner.

Wâneeâs, and trading people generally, set off early in the morning to have a sight of the Dev in his temple. Some persons entertain a superstitious notion that everything will prosper with them during the day if they behold a particular person's face the first thing in the morning, so they keep their eyes as completely closed as they can, and set off to see this person of good omen. It is very unlucky, they believe, to see a man who has no son, an outcaste, a donkey, or a quarrelsome person. Others worship the first thing in the morning the 'sacred basil', or the holy fig-tree.[1] After they have eaten breakfast and chewed betel, they set off to the public market, where they follow their occupation until evening time, when they return home to dinner, paying, perhaps, on their way, a second visit to the temple.

It is the men's business to make what purchases are necessary for the household in the market, and to keep the accounts. All other domestic duties devolve upon the women.

The wives of the poorer class of householders rise at three in the morning frequently to grind grain, and are occupied, perhaps for three hours, in preparing as much flour as will last until the third day. When they have no grain to grind they must still rise at the same early hour to milk the cows, churn, and extract clarified butter. At six o'clock, after arranging their costume, they set off with their vessels to the river-side, where they bathe, and fill water, and then return home. Some women bathe at home, and fetch water afterwards, and rich men's wives have a servant specially for attendance on the bath. When the women return with their water-vessels filled they must set to work to prepare breakfast. The males of the family, when breakfast is ready, sit down in a line at short intervals, and eat; when they rise, the women sit down. Breakfast finished, and the men off to their various duties, the

[1] [The Tulsi, *Ocimum sanctum*, sacred to Vishnu, frequently to be seen in a pot outside Hindu houses, and the Pîpal, *Ficus religiosa*, associated with Vishnu and Śiva.]

women are busily employed in cleaning the house, the fireplace, the plates and dishes and other vessels, and in preparing grain for grinding. About three in the afternoon they have a little leisure, which they employ in attending to their children, or in combing out their own long hair, and oiling it. In the evening they are again busy getting ready lights, preparing dinner, and spreading the beds.

When a caste entertainment takes place the guests either wash at home, and dress themselves in silk clothes, or if the distance be considerable carry their dining dress with them to the house of their host, who provides them with water to bathe in. When they are dressed, the men sit down in two lines outside the entertainer's house and take their dinner ; as soon as they have finished their repast, the women sit down in a similar manner. In some places the women dine at the same time as the men, but at a short distance from them. The persons who prepared the dinner set it before the guests, and dine themselves when the rest have finished. On the west of the Sâbhermutee river the women dress for dinner in cotton, which practice is the subject of much contemptuous remark among the people of the eastern districts whose wives wear silk dresses. In some places no person, not even a man of the caste, unless he have bathed and dressed himself in silk, can pass between the two lines of guests at a public feast without defiling the company, and it becomes therefore necessary that the entertainer should procure permission to barricade the street in which he lives. In other parts of the country a person of the same, or of higher caste, may pass without removing his clothes, but he must leave his shoes behind him, and carry his turban in his hand, and above all he must be particular not to carry with him a book bound in leather or any other leathern article. Five or six of the caste are usually stationed on either side of the lines to keep off the dogs, a task in which they are not always successful, and when a dog gets in, his appearance creates quite a scuffle, hands are raised on all sides to drive him away, and it generally ends in his putting his foot into some man's plate, and jumping over him, or else in his rushing between two men, rendering them both impure. The sufferers however put up with the affront quietly for the time being,

and finish what is in their plates, that they may not be guilty of disrespect to Unn Dev,[1] or sometimes they call to the sentinels who remove their plates, and bring them fresh ones.

In times of peace and ease the Rajpoot leads an indolent and monotonous life. It is some time, usually, after sun-rise, before he bestirs himself, and begins to call for his hookah; after smoking he enjoys the luxury of tea or coffee, and commences his toilet and ablutions which dispose of a considerable part of the morning. It is soon breakfast-time, and after breakfast the hookah is again in requisition, with but few intervals of conversation until noon. The time has now arrived for a siesta, which lasts until about three in the afternoon. At this hour the chief gets up again, washes his hands and face, and prepares for the great business of the day, the distribution of the red-cup, kusoombâ or opium.[2] He calls together his friends into the public hall, or perhaps retires with them to a garden-house. Opium is produced, which is pounded in a brass vessel and mixed with water; it is then strained into a dish with a spout, from which it is poured into the chief's hand. One after the other the guests now come up, each protesting that kusoombâ is wholly repugnant to his taste, and very injurious to his health, but after a little pressing, first one and then another touches the chief's hand in two or three places, muttering the names of Devs, friends, or others, and drains the draught. Each, after drinking, washes the chief's hand in a dish of water which a servant offers, and wipes it dry with his own scarf, he then makes way for his neighbour. After this refreshment the chief and his guests sit down in the public hall, and amuse themselves with chess, draughts, or games of chance, or perhaps dancing girls are called in to exhibit their monotonous measures, or musicians and singers, or the never-failing favorites—the Bhâts and Châruns. At sunset, the torch-bearers appear, and supply the chamber with light, upon which all those who are seated therein rise, and make obeisance towards the chieftain's cushion. They resume their seats, and playing, singing, dancing, story-telling go on as before. At

[1] Food personified as a deity.

[2] [See vol. i, pp. 309, *note*.]

about eight the chief rises to retire to his dinner and his hookah, and the party is broken up.

As may have been already observed in the course of our narratives the Rajpoot chief has always several ladies, each of whom is maintained in a separate suite of apartments. He dines and spends the evening alternately in the apartments of each of the ladies, who, with her attendants, prepares dinner for him, and waits upon him while he eats it, waving the punkah or fan behind him, and entertaining him with her remarks, which, if report speak true (for no stranger is admissible on such occasions), frequently constitute a pretty severe curtain lecture.

Closely connected with the Rajpoots are the Bards, the Bhâts, and Châruns.[1] Of their origin nothing is known, but

[1] [The Bhāts and Chārans were the bards, heralds, and genealogists of the Rājput families. The Bhāts are probably Brāhman by origin; they observe many Brāhman ceremonies, such as wearing the sacred thread, though the customs vary locally. It should be remembered that the original occupation of the Brāhman in the court of a Vedic Rājā was that of reciting the sacred hymns. An old rhyme says:

Āge Brāhman, pīchhe Bhāt,
Tāke pīchhe aur jāt.
In front the Brāhman, behind him the Bhāt,
And behind him the other castes.

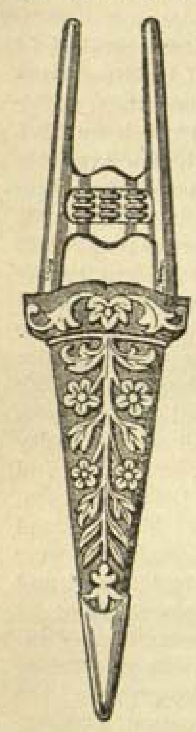
The Chārans were originally, as the name implies, 'wanderers', who also rose to the office of court-bards and became as highly respected as the Bhāts. But the most striking and characteristic feature of these two castes was the extraordinary power they acquired by the practices of *trāga* or *dharna*, i. e. mutilation or suicide if their wishes were disobeyed. As is shown in Forbes's chapter on *Bhūts* (*infra*, p. 373, 4) the ghost of suicide is regarded with peculiar dread. This is especially the case with the ghost of a Brāhman, Bhāt or Chāran, for the Bhāts and Chārans were regarded as inspired and hence as sacred. Thus the Chāran woman Bahucharā who committed suicide was worshipped as an *avatār* of the goddess *Mātā*. For this reason Bhāts and Chārans were used as security for large sums of money: the debtor would never dare to repudiate the debt, because the sponsor would then commit *trāga*, and his ghost would haunt the offender till death. In a similar fashion, they would act as guides during a journey. No one would venture to injure the travellers, for in that case the guide would commit *trāga* and haunt the aggressors. *Trāga* thus became a means of protest against any unpopular action and was even resorted to for the purpose of extracting money,

they assert themselves to have sprung from Muhâ Dev or Shiva. They are in some places cultivators, in others bankers, but their more legitimate occupations are those of acting as securities for the performance of engagements, and of recording the genealogies of their Rajpoot clients.

During the anarchy which has more or less prevailed in Goozerat from the time when the dynasty of Unhilpoor was overthrown by the Mohummedans, to the time when, under British influence, the settlement was effected which we have described, the security of a bard was one of the few available means of ensuring the performance of both political engagements and private agreements, and of providing for the safe transaction of commercial operations. Whether the paramount power sought a guarantee from the half-independent principalities for the payment of their tribute, or a private individual desired assurance of oblivion and personal safety from the chief whom he had offended,—whether the money-lender looked for a pledge of repayment, or the merchant for the safe transit of his goods through a country infested with robbers, the bard was alike resorted to as the only person whose security could be accepted without danger. As the descendant and favourite of the gods, his person was sacred in the eyes of men, who reverenced but little else, and he had at his command means of extorting compliance with his demands which were seldom used in vain. These were the rites of 'Trâgâ' and 'Dhurnâ', which consisted,—the former, in the shedding by the bard of the blood of himself or of some member of his family, and the calling down upon the offender, whose obstinacy necessitated the sacrifice, the vengeance of heaven; and the latter in placing around the dwelling of the recusant, a cordon of bards, who fasted, and compelled the inhabitants of the house also to fast, until their demands were complied with. It was not until the establishment of British supremacy rendered the performance of these barbarous rites impossible that the custom of employing bardic security fell into disuse.

and Gujarāti literature abounds in ghastly stories of its use. This abominable custom is, of course, a criminal offence under British law, and Bhāts and Chārans now make a respectable livelihood as farmers, moneylenders or traders. See vol. i, 302; vol. ii, 387, 429.]

In his heraldic and poetical capacity, however, it is, that the bard has been longest and most favourably distinguished. When the rainy season closes, and travelling becomes practicable, the bard sets off on his yearly tour from his residence in the 'Bhâtwârâ' of some city or town. One by one he visits each of the Rajpoot chiefs who are his patrons, and from whom he has received portions of land, or annual grants of money, timing his arrival if possible to suit occasions of marriage or other domestic festival. After he has received the usual courtesies he produces the 'Wye,'[1]—a book written in his own crabbed hieroglyphics, or in those of his fathers, which contains the descent of the house, if the chief be the 'Teelâyut,'[2] or head of the family, from the founder of the tribe; if he be a 'Phutâyo,' or cadet, from the immediate ancestor of the branch, interspersed with many a verse or ballad, the 'dark sayings' contained in which are chanted forth in musical cadence to a delighted audience, and are then orally interpreted by the bard, with many an illustrative anecdote or tale. The Wye is not, however, merely a source for the gratification of family pride, or even of love of song; it is also a record of authority by which questions of consanguinity are determined when marriage is on the tapis, and disputes relating to the division of ancestral property are decided, intricate as these last necessarily are from the practice of polygamy, and the rule that all the sons of a family are entitled to a share. It is the duty of the bard at each periodical visit to register the births, marriages, and deaths which have taken place in the family since his last circuit, as well as to chronicle all the other events



[1] Hence the bard is called 'Wyewunchâ,' reader of the 'Wye.'

[2] [See vol. i, p. 432, *note* 2.]

worthy of remark which have occurred to affect the fortunes of his patron ; nor have we ever heard even a doubt suggested regarding the accurate, much less the honest, fulfilment of this duty by the bard.

The manners of the bardic tribe are very similar to those of their Rajpoot clients ; their dress is nearly the same, but the bard seldom appears without the 'Kutár' or dagger, a representation of which is scrawled beside his signature, and often rudely engraved upon his monumental stone, in evidence of his death in the sacred duty of Trâgâ. The heraldic occupation is hereditary, and as the bard goes forth on his annual circuits, attended not only by his servants and retinue (the females only being left at home), but also by his sons, the latter have numerous opportunities of becoming acquainted with the history of their patrons, and of learning, beside the funeral monuments of the race, all that traditionary lore which forms their ancestral wealth.

Of the poetic value of the bardic chronicles we have in some degree enabled our reader to form his own estimate. Perhaps it may be thought of them (as Johnson thought of the so-called *Poems of Ossian*), that 'nothing is more easy than to write 'enough in that style if once you begin.' Where poets form an hereditary profession, the character of the poetry can hardly be secure from this criticism. Their exaggerations are awkwardly great, and all their little fishes are apt to speak like great whales,[1] their descriptions and their similes have so little variety that they might almost be stereotyped. Still it must, we think, be admitted that there is often in the bardic sketches much of spirit, and of effective, however rude, colour and drawing. Their historical value may be accurately measured by a rule with which the biographer of the *Queens of England* furnishes us : 'No one,' says Miss Strickland, 'who 'studies history, ought to despise tradition, for we shall find 'that tradition is, on the whole, accurate as to fact, but wholly 'defective and regardless of chronology.' The bardic accounts, where they are written, and *are intelligible without oral explana-*

[1] This was the criticism applied by Goldsmith to Johnson himself : 'If he were to write a fable of little fishes, he would make them speak 'like great whales.'

tion, may rank with the contemporaneous ballad poetry of other nations ; where unwritten, they approximate to common oral tradition. The written genealogies, where they do not ascend to fabulous periods, are doubtless correct in the main. In matters of less strictness even, the bards themselves, though they admit a certain laxity, assert their material accuracy. The following is their canon :

Without fiction there will be a want of flavour,
But too much fiction is the house of sorrow.
Fiction should be used in that degree
That salt is used to flavour flour.

And in another couplet they assert that—

As a large belly shows comfort to exist,
As rivers show that brooks exist,
As rain shows that heat has existed,
So songs show that events have happened.

There is one subject, at least, upon which bardic testimony cannot be impugned—the subject, we mean, of manners and customs ; and without contending for what is extravagant, we may remark that the bards, even if by an operation the very reverse of that which is performed by amber,[1] have enshrined in the rude casket of their tradition much of that for which history is more especially valuable. Fielding, in vindicating the use and dignity of the style of writing in which he excelled, against the loftier pretensions of professed historians, said that in their productions nothing was true but the names and dates, whereas in his everything was true but the names and dates. 'If so,' remarked Hazlitt, 'he has the advantage on his side.'

The bardic song, with all its virtues and its vices, its modicum of truth, and its far larger mass of worthlessness, is now

[1] 'Family tradition and genealogical history, upon which much of 'Sir Everard's discourse turned, is the very reverse of amber, which, 'itself a valuable substance, usually includes flies, straws, and other 'trifles ; whereas these studies, being themselves very insignificant 'and trifling, do nevertheless serve to perpetuate a great deal of what is 'rare and valuable in ancient manners, and to record many curious 'and minute facts, which could have been preserved and conveyed 'through no other medium.'—*Waverley*, chap. iv.

nearly silent, and can never revive ; the swords which it celebrated are broken or rusted, the race by whose deeds it was inspired, is fast passing away. Perhaps it may be the fate of even these poor unworthy pages to call attention for nearly the last time to the verse which has been, for so many centuries, alike a solace in peace and a stimulant in danger to the sons of the Kshutrees.

CHAPTER IV

RAJPOOT LAND-TENURES UNDER THE MOHUMMEDANS AND THE MAHRATTAS

Though victorious in the field, the Mohummedan invaders had effected nothing towards the permanent conquest of Goozerat until the time of Allah-ood-deen Khiljy. The inroads of Kootb-ood-deen Eibuk produced little more solid effect than the expeditions of Mahmood of Ghuznee, and, but for the demise of the first Solunkhee dynasty, the kingdom of Unhilpoor might still, perhaps, have resisted the arms of even the now established empire of Delhi. If the death of Bheem Dev II, however, did not leave a vacant throne, the royal authority was certainly, henceforth, either in abeyance or but feebly wielded. The kings, suffering, perhaps, under the defects of an incomplete title, held even the crown-lands which they possessed with no firmness of grasp, and allowed the outlying territory to escape almost entirely from their control. Their Purmár vassals, of Chundráwutee, were overrun by the Chohâns; the conquered chiefs of Kutch resumed their independence; the Râs of Soreth reasserted their old supremacy in that peninsula, and entertained followers, who soon became as powerful as their lords. The aboriginal tribes, taking advantage of the feebleness of the throne, began again to raise their heads. The Mairs of Dhundhooka and the Sords of Eedur exhibited the state of princes; the Bâreeâs of Gogo and Peerum wielded all that remained of the naval power of the kings of Unhilpoor, and, while the Kânt Bheels pressed upon the Râs of Soreth, their kindred ravaged the lands of the Wâghelas themselves. At this time, also, circumstances forced into the country various foreign chiefs, who, gladly received at first as vassals of the crown, became, in the end, from their unquiet ambition, the sources of additional weakness. A Râthor soon established a rival kingdom among the mountains of Eedur, and a Jhâlâ, acquiring possession of an

important portion of the home territory, rendered himself independent in all but name, affecting even to have presented a province to his sovereign. The Gohils from the north, the Shodâ Purmârs and Kâtees from Sindh, and other tribes entering Goozerat, joined in marriage with Choorâsumâs, with Wâlâs, or even with aboriginal Mairs, and, aided by them, attempted to wrest land from the Bhoomeeâs, or, perchance, turned their swords against each other. Goozerat was, in truth, invaded not by Moslem alone; and the army, which should have defended her, had broken up into numerous divisions eager, no doubt, to protect the ground which each independently occupied, but, as a whole, connected by no common interest, and acknowledging no common leader. Under these circumstances, the generals of Allah-ood-deen Khiljy met with a far more feeble opposition than had been encountered by their predecessors, while, at the same time, the booty which they at length succeeded in acquiring had lost a great part of its value.

The account which the Mohummedans themselves have left us of the first period of their possession of Goozerat, exhibits a scene of anarchy, produced, no doubt, partly by their want of power to settle the country, but, in a great degree also by the selfish policy in which the emperors indulged in regard to, not only the Hindoos, but also their own officers. Their governors we find continually changed, obtaining, perhaps, 'the honor of martyrdom at the hands of the infidels,' or, when more successful against their enemies, disgraced or murdered by the monarchs whom they served. Rebels, meanwhile, we are told, rose up in every direction. These outbreaks were, at first, confined to the Hindoos alone, but, after a time, the foreign Mohummedan officers, and, eventually, the viceroys themselves, joined in rebelling against the authority of the emperors, and Mohummed Toghluk, though personally undertaking the task, was unable to effect more than a partial settlement of affairs. Afterwards the resuscitation of the revenue was sought to be effected by farming it out on exorbitant terms, and a serious attempt to detach the province from the imperial authority, was met by the appointment of a viceroy, who, from the moment of his setting foot in Goozerat, virtually

inaugurated that separate kingdom, the establishment of which it was his commission to prevent.

The only Rajpoot chiefs of note with whom the Mohummedans are known to have come into contact during this period, are the Râ of Soreth and his vassal, Mokherâjee Gohil. Joonagurh resisted the Moslem attack, and though Peerum was destroyed, and its founder slain, the power of the Gohil clan was unbroken; Gogo and the rest of their territories remained in their possession, and a younger branch had sufficient influence to render itself paramount in the hills of Râjpeepla.

We have observed the measure of success which attended the steps taken by the sultans to effect the completion of the conquest of Goozerat. The Râs of Soreth and the Râwuls of Châmpâner were dethroned by Mahmood Begurra; the Rows of Eedur, however, successfully defended their independence against reiterated attacks, and Chowras, Jhâlâs, Gohils, and others maintained possession of their lands. Nor were they only the great Hindoo land-holders who thus preserved their existence, for in every part of the country the hereditary Rajpoot estates constituted no small portion of the lands of each district.

The following is the general account given by the Mohummedan author of Meerât Ahmudee: 'The whole of the zumeendârs in the time of Sultan Ahmed Goozeratee erected the head 'of rebellion and disturbance. They were, however, punished, 'and driven from their retreats, and the servants of the king 'were established in every place. In consequence of being 'thus completely dispossessed of their habitations, that band of 'unbelievers, being hopeless, began to infest the roads and 'villages with their depredations. Anarchy increased, con-'fusion prevailed, the decay of cultivation became visible, and 'the ryots were distressed. Those whose duty it was to advise, 'in their foresight put an end to these calamities, and exacted 'from the zumeendâr of every village security to discontinue 'his opposition. Three parts of the land of each village, under 'the denomination of 'Tulput,' were acknowledged as the 'property of the king, and one portion was given to the 'zumeendârs, under the denomination of 'Wântâ,' and they 'were engaged to furnish guards and protection to their own

'villages, and were to hold themselves in readiness for the 'service of the king whenever called upon. As these people, 'without paying obedience to the prince, did not see it possible 'to establish themselves, they attended to make their submis- 'sion, and engaged to pay the crown a *sulâmee* from their 'Wântâ; from this time sulâmee and paishkush became 'established against them. Some of the zumeendârs, such 'as those of Huldhurwâs, Ghorâsur, Âtursoombâ, Mândoowâ, 'and others, were converted to Islâm, and entered into agree- 'ments for the defence of their own tâlookehs, and their posses- 'sions were conferred upon them by the imperial court, for the 'encouragement of the faith, but they consenting to pay the 'imperial "paishkush." From other principal zumeendârs 'over whom the hand of conquest did not extend, the levy of 'a yearly paishkush was exacted.'

We have seen, however, from the narratives of the Mohummedan historians, that this levy was not accomplished without difficulty, and the continual presence of an important military force. The armies of the sultans, year by year, advanced against these Hindoo chiefs (as the armies of the Kings of Unhilpoor had formerly advanced against Soreth, Kutch, or Malwa), with a view of completing their subjugation, if that were practicable, or otherwise of enforcing as large a money payment as they could.

A similar general account is given by the bardic annalists, in whose wild but homely tales, we have perceived how some of the Kshutrees' sons apostatized to Islâm; how others more resolute, treading the flinty pathway of the outlaw's life, regained a scanty portion of their lands; and how a happier few, though flying oft from smoking homes, the mountain cave their dwelling-place, and the shield their sleepless pillow, maintained the unequal contest until their oppressors were no more.

The emperor Akbar was inclined to adopt a more liberal policy than that of his predecessors. The great Hindoo chiefs, as we have seen, had already been engaged in the military service of the state,[1] and now they were freely admitted to the rank of imperial nobles, on the condition that they should place

[1] See vol. i, p. 378.

the government mark on their cavalry contingents, and attend the provincial governor on all important occasions. The power of the imperial viceroy, or soubahdâr, was supported by a large army, usually quartered at Ahmedabad, which city formed in fact one vast cantonment. The country immediately surrounding the capital, and in other places where the imperial power was undisputed, was 'khâlsâ,' or under the immediate management of the servants of the crown,—and the superior authority of the soubahdâr was acknowledged from Jhalor to Songurh, on the frontier of Candeish, and from Dwârkâ to the borders of Malwa.[1] In addition to the central army cantoned in Ahmedabad, there were also numerous fortified ports, called Tahnahs, occupied by the imperial troops, in different places. The whole extent of the country was, nevertheless, intersected by the possessions of the Hindoo chieftains, who all of them under the Mogul government, whether 'Rajas, Rajpoots, Koolees, or 'Grassias,' bore the general name of zumeendârs. The revenue which was derivable from the zumeendârs, or their villages, was a fixed and settled sum. It was not determined by a valuation of the produce, and the assignment of a portion as the share of government; but, on the contrary, each proprietor obtained the best terms that he could. In the times of the emperors, as in those of the Sultans of Ahmedabad, however, the collection of the revenue from the zumeendârs was always of necessity supported by the presence of a military force.

'If the governor of the Soubah,' says the historian, 'should 'proceed with a large army towards the banks of the Wâtruk, 'which is situated to the westward, and also towards the boun'dary in that direction, as far as Wânswârâ and Doongurpoor, 'which may be about one hundred kos from Ahmedabad, and 'should return from Wânswârâ towards the south, the Zu'meendârs of Sonth and Jâlreeâ and the Bâreeâ districts, and 'Râjpeepla, and Mânduvee, and Râmnugger (which is upon 'the sea coast) would settle for their paishkush; should he 'proceed towards Doongurpoor, which is to the north-east, he 'will effect the settlement of the Zillah of Eedur, Seerohee,

[1] See verbal information relative to the state of Goozerat, communicated to Colonel Walker by Amrut Lall, agent for nearly thirty years on behalf of the Peshwah's governor of Ahmedabad.

'Dântâ, the hills of Geer, Ranna Bao Phaphur Khundeya-'nugger, the tâlookâ of Kutch, and from thence the Zumeen-'dârs of Jhâlâwâr, Moorbee, Hulwud, the Sirkâr of Islâm-'nugger (Bhooj), Jugut Ranna Bhao, Sirkâr of Soreth, 'Porbunder, Chanyeh Kesoje, Oonah, and others of Kâteewâr, '—Gohilwâr, Loleeyânah, Dhundhooka, and Dholka, and at 'length arrive at Khumbâyut, which is situated on the sea-'coast, through the above-named Zillahs.'

Many of the great 'zumeendârs' continued to perform service until the reign of Aurangzeeb, but regained after that time their complete independence. In the same period of disorder the small landholders also strove, and not without partial success, to recover the lands which they had been compelled to resign in favour of the crown.

'In the course of time,' says the same Mohummedan author, 'the Rajpoots and Koolees, who had become powerful, excited 'disturbances, carried away the cattle from towns, and mur-'dered the inhabitants during the harvest season. The people 'having no means of redress, purchased exemption from these 'evils by giving the authors of them a yearly payment in 'money, or by yielding up possession of one or more fields fit 'for cultivation, and such claim for exemption is called *grâs* 'or *wol*. This custom, gradually established, has been so 'matured through the weakness of the provincial governors 'that there are very few places in the pergunnahs where some 'of the Rajpoot, Koolee, or Mohummedan inhabitants do not 'possess the right to grâs.

'As these people are naturally disobedient, addicted to 'theft, highway robbery, and sedition, they therefore excited 'insurrections whenever the government of the provincial 'rulers indicated the least weakness. On this account several 'of the governors, both in past and present times, after 'strengthening the fortifications of the province, stationed 'a sufficient party of soldiers therein, and these posts are named 'Tahnahs. The payment of each Tahnah has been fixed by 'government, and certain lands are set aside for this purpose 'in order that the party of men may never leave the post, lest 'disturbances might be set on foot. Now that the unsettled 'state of the province goes on increasing, the seditious tribes

'already mentioned have levelled the small forts, where there 'were formerly Tahnahs, and by establishing themselves in 'others, have obtained possession in many towns of the tulput 'government share instead of *grâs*.

'At present (A. D. 1747–8 to 1756), the provincial governor 'raises a force, and collects a tribute from the holders of *wântá* 'in possession of the tulput, in proportion to the capability of 'each place, while he takes security from his own amildars (or 'officers) ; but when the great landholders refuse to pay the 'tribute, what power has the provincial governor to enforce it ? 'and so faithless have they become that he cannot pass the 'city gate without an escort for them.'

There were, however, causes wholly independent of the Mohummedan conquest, which tended to reduce the power of the Rajpoot chiefs. The younger brothers of a family were invariably considered entitled to a portion of the paternal estate. In the case of important chieftainships this right was restricted to a portion of land, assigned as a maintenance, the extent of which varied according to circumstances, and the cadet, or 'phutâyo,' was the vassal of the 'teelâyut,' or chieftain ; but where the estate of a cadet was concerned, his sons either divided the lands equally among themselves, or the younger brothers, sharing alike, assigned a larger share to the elder. Had circumstances permitted the strict and regular action of this system, it is manifest that the land-holding families must have been in every case, as they really were in many, reduced in a very few descents to the position of mere cultivators. But where no central government existed, and where public and domestic war continually raged around them, the cadets, such especially of them as were themselves 'good Rajpoots,' frequently found opportunity for increasing their inheritance at the point of the sword. Many, too, quitted their patrimony to take military service at a distance from home, and the greater mortality among the class, which was inevitably the accompaniment of a state of chronic warfare, aided in retarding the minute subdivision of lands. The chieftain was always of right the heir, in the last resort, of the cadet. Sometimes, where the share of the latter was insufficient to supply his wants, he disposed of it by mortgage or sale to

the head of his family; sometimes, from choice or necessity, he assigned his land, or a certain portion of it, to a powerful neighbour, other than his chief, either to purchase protection or to buy off annoyance. A further drain upon the resources of the Rajpoot chiefs existed in the necessity under which they lay, from religious feelings, or the desire of reputation, of conferring gifts upon Brahmins, Gosâees, and other religious mendicants, or upon Bhâts and Châruns, the recorders of fame. These classes were called in some parts of the country by the general name of Yâchuks. We have observed the 'lâkh pusâv,' the extravagant donations made by Row Veerum Dev, of Eedur, and others. These were not confined to money, apparel, jewels, horses, or other valuable articles, but consisted also of lands, which, from the same word above employed, were called 'pusâytâ,' and were free from all demands of the original granter, except that which he preserved as heir in the last resort. Pusâytâ lands were also granted to soldiers for military following, and to potters, torch-bearers, and other domestic servants.

The term 'grâs' appears, as has been already mentioned,[1] to have originally applied to gifts made to religious persons, such as were afterwards more particularly denominated 'pusâv.' In the bardic chronicles, however, it is constantly applied to the lands given for their subsistence to junior members of the chieftain's families, and this sense of the word continued for a long time to be the prevalent, if not the exclusive, one. At length the term 'grâs' was also used to signify the blackmail paid by a village to a turbulent neighbour as the price of his protection and forbearance, and in other similar meanings. Thus the title of 'grâssiâ,' originally an honorable one, and indicating its possessor to be a cadet of the ruling type, became at last as frequently a term of opprobrium, conveying the idea of a professional robber, 'a soldier of the 'night,' such as the Meleekur of Koompojee of Bhunkorâ.

It is very important that we should recollect these distinctions, as the disregard of them has been the cause of embarrassment, if not of injustice. The concessions, which, under the names of grâs, or wol, Row Chândo forced from the usurpers

[1] *Vide* vol. i, pp. 232; vol. ii, p. 62, *note*.

of his hereditary principality of Eedur, should not be confounded with the black mail, which, also under the names of grâs or wol, the banditti of the Râjpeepla hills extorted from the defenceless villager, or the reivers of the Choonwâl from the travelling merchant ; much rather should confusion be avoided between either of these classes of claims, and the regular and legal title to a share of the family lands which was possessed by the grâssiâ cadet of a Rajpoot house. The following description by Colonel Walker, of the titles borne by the different chieftains throughout Kâteewar may be applied more generally to the whole of Goozerat :—

'The title of Raja is applicable to the head of the family 'only. He must be independent, that is not pay jumma or 'tribute to another of his family. The tribute payable to the 'Moguls or the Mahrattas does not affect the independence 'of his character. The address of a Raja runs "Muhârâjâ 'Raja Shree ——." The origin of the title of Rânâ, which 'is nowise inferior to that of Raja, cannot be satisfactorily 'traced. (Similarly of the title of Row.) The title which 'follows next in gradation, is that of Râwul, which is the most 'appropriate designation of the Chieftain of Bhownugger,—a 'distinction which his ancestors assumed on receiving some 'assistance from the Râwul of Doongurpoor. This address 'runs, "Râwul Shree ——." The sons of Rajas, Rânâs '(Rows), and Râwuls bear the appellation of Koonwur '(prince), and *their* sons the designation of Thâkor, provided 'they have succeeded to an estate. The sons of a Thâkor are 'also called 'Koonwur' during their father's life. On his 'death the eldest becomes a Thâkor, and the others "Bhoo-'meeâs," and "Grâssiâs." Thâkor, the next gradation 'after Râwul, is applied to all those who are not powerful 'enough to assume and use the title of Raja, or who are the 'heads of distinct, but inferior, branches of a family. To the 'head of a family, Thâkors owe a feudal submission, exem-'plified in the payment of tribute, sending a horse, or the 'performance of service. In their own possessions, Thâkors 'are, however, as independent as Rajas. "Bhoomeeâ" is ap-'plied to all possessors of landed property who are not Rajas 'or Thâkors, of which they are the inferior gradation. We

'have generally called them "Grâssiâs," in consequence of 'their being the ancient hereditary proprietors of the portion 'of territory they possess, in which sense the word "grâs" is 'used, and it is equivalent to "Asil," or "Cudeem" (two 'Mohummedan words, which mean "root, origin, foundation," 'and "ancient, old, former").'

The establishment of the Mahratta power must be reckoned from the fall of Ahmedabad, in the year A. D. 1755. For some years previously their incursions had been annually repeated under Peelâjee and Dâmâjee Guikowâr, the Peshwah Bâjee Row, and others, and Baroda had been actually taken possession of. The Mahratta inroads, up to this time, were, however, merely predatory expeditions, in which plunder was the object; and though a chouth had been extorted from the authorities of the Mogul government, still its realisation depended upon the extent of the Mahratta military power. Ahmedabad having fallen, the whole country was divided equally between the Peshwah and the Guikowâr, including the tribute payable by the zumeendârs, who, during the contest for supremacy between the Mogul and Mahratta powers, had observed a strict neutrality, paying with equal facility their revenue or jumma to whatever person possessed local authority in their own district. Neither Moguls nor Mahrattas interfered in their internal policy; and during the government of the latter power, they continued to possess the same rights and privileges which they had possessed, and to occupy the same position which they had occupied in the time of Akbar, with the exception, that a gradual increase to their revenue was imposed by the Mahratta arms.[1]

'In the plain to the south,' says Mr. Elphinstone, 'and in 'the open spaces that run up between the rivers, the Mahratta 'governments had the right of administering justice in every 'village, by means of its own officers, and it always took an 'account of the produce of the village lands, of which it was 'entitled to a certain share. All the other villages retained 'their independence on the payment of a tribute. Most of 'those which lay on the rivers in the midst of subjugated

[1] From the information furnished to Colonel Walker by Amrutlal the Peshwah's agent.

'country paid it regularly every year to the nearest revenue 'officer; but those whose situations were stronger, or more 'remote, withheld their tribute until compelled to pay by the 'presence of an invading army. The villages which submitted 'to the administration of justice and the inspection of their 'produce, are called *Ryuttee*, those which only pay a tribute, '*Mewâsee*; but this last term is not extended to princes, 'like those of Eedur and Loonâwârâ. The tribute paid 'annually to the revenue officer is called *jummâbundee*; that 'collected by an officer at the head of an army is called *ghâns-'dhânâ* (grass and grain). There are many *Mewâsees*, who 'though they are willing to pay a small sum to the revenue 'collector, will not submit to the exaction of a large one unless 'supported by a force. These pay both *jummâbundee* and '*ghâns-dhânâ*; the former to the collector every year, the 'latter to the commandant of the force that is occasionally 'sent to levy it. Both descriptions are, however, equally '*tribute*, and neither is a fixed share of the produce.'[1]

In regard to the Rajpoot chiefs here spoken of under the general name of 'the grâssiâs,' Colonel Walker has the following:—'The power of life and death, and the administration of 'justice within their respective villages, are possessed by all, 'and it was never thought necessary to make reference to the 'authority of the superior government residing at the Kusbah 'of the pergunnah (or principal town of the district) in order 'to obtain leave for the punishment or to avert the effects of 'having punished a criminal or disobedient ryot. And also 'in the event of a crime against government being committed, 'it was usual to demand of the grâssiâ whose ryot might 'have committed the act, that he should take the necessary 'measures for punishing the same. In respect to exterior 'relations, they appear to have exercised the same freedom. 'The external interests of such petty states could not have 'extended far and may be supposed confined in great measure 'to their own neighbourhood. But they enjoyed the right of 'peace and war with each other. They formed such con-'nexions as might be necessary for the extension and security

[1] [See *Bombay Gazetteer*, VII (Baroda), chapter viii, pp. 340 ff. (Land Administration).]

'of their commerce; they built fortifications and maintained 'troops. Nor does it appear that any of the states to whom 'they paid tribute ever interfered in their transactions, 'whether foreign or domestic, so long as they were not in-'imical to themselves. It is generally admitted that the 'payment of a tribute does not deprive the tributary of his 'independence.' . . .

'With their hereditary possessions also they receive a 'variety of seigneurial rights and privileges. The grâssiâ 'proprietors of villages assign lands to Rajpoots and others for 'military services in the defence of themselves and property; 'they call for the services of all the artificers of the village 'whenever they require them; they possess the right to all 'trees which may fall down, although the produce may belong 'to the tenant who occupies the ground. Fees are paid to 'them for permission to contract a marriage, and some collec-'tions are made on the birth of their children; they abate 'and increase the revenues they derive from their ryots at 'their own pleasure.'

The principal source of revenue possessed by the chiefs was the share of the crops which they received in kind. In the case of garden crops, sugar-cane, cotton, tobacco, opium, and other crops, in regard to which it is difficult to make the kultur or assessment which has been described, they levied a money rent. They sometimes received a tax upon ploughs as part of their land revenue. Sometimes, where the share of the produce was small, they exacted a trifling money payment in compensation. When land was assigned to the cadets of a family, it was the practice in certain parts of the country that the chief retained the money payments, leaving only the share of produce to the cadet. Cultivators reclaiming land, instead of paying in kind, made for a few years only a small acknowledgment to the chief in money. The produce of all trees usually belonged to the chief; waifs and strays also belonged to him. He levied transit duties on traders' goods, taxes on liquor shops, and on tanners and curriers, which latter tax, however, was in compensation for the perquisite allowed to those trades of removing the hides of all animals which died in the village.

The tax on marriages was trifling, varying from one shilling to four shillings. The chief received all fines imposed for criminal offences, and sometimes a fourth of the sum awarded in civil suits.

The whole administration of such parts of each district as were *ryutee* was confided, by the Mahrattas, to a komâvishdâr, a collector, or rather a farmer, of revenue. The residence of this person in the district was only temporary, he was, at any time, liable to be displaced by any other who was prepared to offer higher terms for the possession of his authority, it was, therefore, his interest to accumulate as much money as possible, without reference either to the permanent revenue of the pergunnah, or to the happiness of its inhabitants. One means of enriching himself was that of exacting fines for criminal offences, and with no severer punishment, therefore, crimes of the most heinous and flagitious nature were passed over. Civil disputes, which consisted principally of claims for the possession of land, for the recovery of debts, or for the assertion of caste rules, were, under the government of these farmers, referred to arbitration, the komâvishdâr interfering only by lending the aid of his authority for the enforcement of the award, and by appropriating to his own use a fourth of the sum awarded.

On the estates of the Rajpoot chieftains, justice, both civil and criminal, where it was administered at all, was in the hands of the grâssiâ. The influence of the Bhâts and Châruns was very powerful, and usually compelled the proper execution of engagements, for the performance of which they were securities. Where they referred cases to arbitration, the conduct of the grâssiâs contrasted very favourably with that of the komâvishdârs. The chiefs levied only a very small sum from the disputants, which was proportioned to their means, and was always appropriated to charitable purposes.[1]

Justice was administered principally through a system of ordeals and oaths, which still remains in vogue, both in the

[1] *Vide* Mr. Diggle's letter to Colonel Walker, forming an Appendix to that officer's report 'On the Company's late acquisitions in Goozerat, 'from the Peshwah and Guikowâr,' dated 18th June, 1804. In regard to the last statement see, however, above.

crown-lands of the Guikowâr state and in the Moolukgeeree districts of Kâteewâr and the Myhee Kântâ. Whatever the evidence in his possession, the complainant, instead of using it, most frequently preferred compelling the defendant to undergo an ordeal or to take an oath, and the defendant, on the other hand often sought to anticipate his assailant by referring the matter through him to the same judicium Dei. Thus, the point in dispute was often determined by the success of one of the parties in putting the other upon his trial by oath or ordeal, for, especially in the case of persons of character, it was held more creditable to retire from the contest altogether than to maintain it upon the ordealistic ground. There is a description of the ordeal, which is remarkably consonant with existing practice in Renaudot's Arabian travellers. 'In the Indies,' say they, 'when one man accuses another of a crime punishable 'with death, it is customary to ask the accused if he is willing 'to go through the trial by fire; and, if he answers in the 'affirmative, they heat a piece of iron till it is red hot; this 'done, they tell him to stretch forth his hand, and, upon it, 'they put seven leaves of a tree they have in the Indies,[1] and 'upon these leaves they put the red hot iron; and, in this 'condition, he walks backwards and forwards for some time, 'and then throws off the iron. Immediately after this, they 'put his hand into a leathern bag, which they seal with the 'prince's signet; and if, at the end of three days, he appears 'and declares that he has suffered no hurt, they order him to 'take out his hand, when, if no sign of fire is seen, they 'declare him innocent, and delivered from the punishment 'which threatened him; and his accuser is condemned to pay 'a *man* of gold as a fine to the prince.

'Sometimes they boil water in a caldron till it is so hot that 'no one may approach it; then they throw an iron ring into 'it, and command the person accused to thrust his hand down, 'and bring up the ring. The accuser is in this case also to pay 'a *man* of gold.'

'In the vicinity of my village,' says a Goozeratee author of the present day, 'there is a tree called the "thief's limbaro,"

[1] The burr tree is the tree here alluded to. We have ourselves seen this ordeal employed. The leaves usually protect the person from injury.

'where the *hot oath* is administered to thieves. When a thief 'has been apprehended, or in any case where a dispute has 'occurred, and it cannot be ascertained who is the guilty party, 'then the hot oath is administered to either one or both of the 'disputants. Fifteen years ago the oath was administered to 'a goldsmith. I did not go myself to see what happened, but 'I heard the following account of it :—The Raja's Kârbhâree 'caused an iron ring to be heated at the "thief's tree," and 'ordered the Koolee, who was the goldsmith's opponent, to 'take it up. People say that the Koolee had bribed the 'Kârbhâree, so that, at the time of lifting the ring, the Koolee, 'worshipping the Sun, said, "O Sooruj, sire, if I am in the 'right save me!" and so saying he touched the ring with his 'hand, whereupon the Kârbhâree immediately exclaimed, '"The Koolee has saved himself!" Then, turning to the 'goldsmith, he said, "If you are in the right, lift the ring." 'The goldsmith took off his turban and body-coat; and went 'to a well, called the Gungâ well, which is in that place, to 'perform ablutions. He became very sad, and considered 'within himself whether he should not jump into the well, and 'give up his life. At that time a voice issued from the well, 'which said, "Take courage!" Hearing this, the goldsmith 'looked up and around, but in that space he saw no one, so he 'considered that it must have been some Dev that ordered him 'to take courage. After ablutions, he went out of the well 'somewhat reassured, but when he looked at the ring, and 'saw how very hot it was, his fears returned in full force. 'At that time, however, he perceived a train of ants passing 'over the ring, which sight gave him some confidence. At 'last, worshipping the Sun, he said, "O father Sun, if I be 'in the right, protect me!" so saying, he took the ring out of 'the fire with his hand, and placed it on his neck. Then the 'Kârbhâree said, "You have saved yourself; now throw the 'ring down;" but the goldsmith replied, "No! let me go 'first to the Bâee Râj (or Thâkorine), and after that I will take 'off the ring." At that time, one of two shepherds, who were 'standing by, took the ring off the goldsmith's neck with his 'staff. In the place where it fell upon the ground the dust 'began to be very much heated. Then they said to the

'Koolee, "Put the ring in the same way on your neck," but he 'was unable to lift it, and his hand was found to have been 'burned and blistered from having touched it in the first 'instance; so the Koolee was pronounced to be in the wrong, 'and the goldsmith in the right, and a large number of 'villagers who had come to see the oath administered, 'separated, remarking sagely to each other, that "even in this 'Iron Age, the Supreme Being has not deserted the earth."

'Sometimes an iron chain or ball is used in the same way as 'the ring, the accused being ordered to lift it; and sometimes 'he is directed to take a ring or three copper coins out of a 'vessel filled with heated oil. I have heard that a person, 'having professed his willingness to submit to the trial by 'ordeal, a vessel of oil was heated, and a cocoanut thrown 'therein to test the heat, and that, though this was immediately 'cracked, the suspected person was enabled to prove his 'innocence by taking copper coins out of this hot oil, which 'he said seemed to his touch to be cold water.[1]

'At the village of Bhureeäd, near Dholera, there is the 'shrine of a very celebrated Mohummedan saint, who is 'called "Peer Bhureeädro," to which many people are taken 'to be tried by ordeal. The defendant is compelled to put 'on a pair of iron fetters, and is then directed to walk past 'the Peer's tomb; if the fetters fall off, he is held to be cleared. 'I have heard that some contrivance is resorted to in the 'making of these fetters, so that they may fall off.

'Another kind of ordeal is used at Bhownugger. There is 'a stone there with a hole in it, through which, if a suspected 'man can creep, his character is held to be cleared; if he 'cannot, he is pronounced to be a liar. The stone goes by the 'name of *the window of truth and falsehood*.'[2]

'The mode of administering the cold oath is this: The 'person swearing, professes his readiness to take a flower off 'an image of Shiva, or to place his hand upon the foot of some

[1] See the extract from Sonnerat's travels descriptive of a feast of fire in honor of Dhurum Râj, or Yoodishteer, and Droupudee.—D'Oyly and Mant's Bible, note on Leviticus, cap. xviii. v. 21. [See L. D. Barnett *Antiquities of India*, 1913, p. 127.]

[2] *Vide* vol. i, pp. 436, 437.

'Dev; if the opposite party agrees, then the defendant 'clears himself by taking an oath in this form. If it be 'wished to impose on a Hindoô a very binding cold oath, he 'is compelled to place his hand on the neck of a Brahmin; or 'if one still more stringent is called for, the swearer is required 'to touch with a knife the neck of a cow, the meaning being, 'that if he breaks the oath he incurs the sin of Brahmin, or 'cow-murder. All these oaths are considered to possess great 'force, and they are only employed when the matter in dispute 'is of considerable importance; for smaller matters lesser 'oaths are used.

'A Brahmin swears by his junoee, or cord of regeneration; 'a Râjpoot by his sword; a Wâneeo by Sârdâ, or Suruswutee, '(by which he means *his account-book*); a cultivator swears by 'his bullock; a Mohummedan by some rozah, or the saint that 'dwells therein; a Shrâwuk swears by his religion, or else 'says "puchkând." Many people swear by their sons, by 'grain, by their hopes, by their youth, by their brothers, by 'their fathers or mothers, or by their eyes; they mean to 'imprecate upon themselves the loss of these in case of their 'breaking the oath. Women swear by their husbands and 'sons; a widow, when called upon to swear, says, "If I speak 'false, may I have the same fate for seven lives." A Vaish-'navite swears by his necklace, an ascetic by his beads, an 'artificer by his craft, a sailor by the jewel-mine—the sea, a 'wealthy man swears by Lukshmee, *a school-boy by learning* (!). 'A goldsmith swears by Mâtâ, meaning any Devee, but par-'ticularly Doorgâ, in the form of "the lady of the tiger," but 'they get out of this oath (in the very spirit of the casuists) by 'saying they meant to swear by some stout man (mâto). If 'a person swear by his ancestors, or by any deceased person, 'his oath is not accepted. Boys fancy that if they swear 'a false oath with the tongue between the front teeth (like 'the English school-boy's *over the left*) it is no matter. The 'person who swore a man for any particular purpose, may 'release him from his obligation by saying "The oath is void." 'In the small country villages a great deal of business is 'transacted on the faith of these oaths, and many people never 'make them falsely.'

There is another spot consecrated to Peer Bhureeâdro, near Ahmednugger, in the Myhee Kântâ, at which people are tried by ordeal. A second mode of taking an oath by the Peer, is to lift one of the earthen toy-like horses, which are set before him by his votaries. Melâdee Mâtâ has a shrine near Kuree. The mode of swearing by her which is usually employed is that of raising in the hands a lighted lamp from before her image, and saying, 'If I speak falsely, may Melâdee Mâtâ take 'an answer from me in so many days!' At Dhuborâ, near Sâdrâ, there is a temple of Hunoomân, who is here surnamed 'Dubhoreeo.' If it be intended to swear a minor oath by this idol, the party merely touches its foot; if a more impressive oath is required, the swearer drinks a cup of Hunoomân's oil. At Shâmlâjee, the mode of swearing is to take up a flower which has been offered to the god.

In the districts about Pâhlunpoor and Dântâ, the following is a common mode of settling disputes. The defendant goes to the bank of a river, or other place where there is sufficient water, attended by a friend, and accompanied by the plaintiff, who is armed with a bow and arrow. In order to clear himself, the defendant must keep his head under water for a sufficient time to allow of his friend's returning with an arrow which the plaintiff has shot from his bow.

Colonel Tod describes a stone similar to that at Bhownugger, but possessing powers still more extraordinary, which is to be found on the adjacent mountain of Shutroonjye. 'Near 'the Choree of Nemeenâth,' he says, 'there is a plain flat 'stone, having, about three feet above its insertion in the 'ground a square hole of fifteen inches diameter, called the '*mooktdwara*, or "door of bliss," and whoever can so compress 'his body as to pass through this ordeal of purity, is sure of 'beatitude (*mookt*). Few of the sons of Mammon, who "lard 'the lean earth," can bear this test, unless they greatly 'mortify the flesh. Strange to say, there is a stone image of 'a camel, nearly as large as life, in juxtaposition with the '"door of bliss," and as all these erect stones are termed *sula*, 'or "needle," our Scriptural text could not but suggest itself 'to the mind.'

There is another stone of the same kind at Dubhoee, which

bears the name of 'Mâmâ Dokuree,' and is mentioned by the author of the *Oriental Memoirs.*

In all these modes of trial, and many others which are of daily use in different parts of Goozerat, the principle is the same. The judges tacitly admitting their incompetency to sit in judgment upon the accused, require him to pronounce upon his own guilt or innocence, by refusing or accepting the trial which is proposed to him. They are all of them, therefore, equally appeals to the *judicium Dei*—are, in fact, ordeals.[1]

[1] William of Malmesbury mentions, as a proof of the sanctity of the 'old church' of Glastonbury, 'that within the memory of man, all 'persons who, before undergoing the ordeal of fire or water, there put 'up their petitions, exulted in their escape, one only excepted,' of whose case, however, he declines to inform us. If the assertion be a true one, we fear that the sanctity of this 'depositary of so many saints' must occasionally have been prostituted to the support of falsehood.

Similar miracles were wrought at the shrine of St. Thomas-à-Becket, at Canterbury, as we are told by a monkish historian who lived at the time of the Saint's martyrdom, and from whose work it may be gathered, that the royal officers had then frequent recourse to the trial-by-water ordeal. 'Two men,' he says, 'were impeached upon the Forest Act 'for stealing deer; and being tried by the water-ordeal, one was cast, 'and hanged; the other, by invoking St. Thomas's intercession, escaped. 'Another, accused of having stolen a whet-stone and pair of gloves, 'was convicted by the water-ordeal, and had his eyes dug out, and some 'of his members were cut off, but were perfectly restored to him by the 'intercession of the martyr, which he implored.'

It was not, therefore, only upon special occasions that the ordeal was used in England: it was, in fact, the soul of the original Anglo-Saxon system of law,—the only species of trial which existed. Nor was it until the reign of Henry III, that the trial by ordeal was abolished. Up to that time it had been sanctioned by the clerical as well as the temporal rulers, both in England and Sweden, being performed, as we are told by Blackstone, only in the churches or other consecrated ground. Notwithstanding this fact, it appears, however, that the church was mainly instrumental in the abolition, for we find royal letters, of the third year of the reign of Henry, addressed to the itinerant judges of the counties of Lancaster, Cumberland, and Westmoreland (the northern circuit of that day), announcing to them that because it was not determined, previous to the opening of the circuit, what form of trial they should undergo who were charged with robbery, murder, arson, and the like, 'since the ordeal of fire and water had been pro-'hibited by the Roman church,' (cum prohibitum sit per ecclesiam Romanam judicium ignis et aquæ), it had been provided by the king in council that the judges should proceed in a particular manner then

Villages were, by the custom of the country, held responsible for the value of property stolen within their limits, unless the footsteps of the robbers could be traced on to another place. It was, therefore, the duty of the police to keep watch throughout the day in the village lands, in order to prevent suspicious persons harbouring there. At break of day, they were further bound to examine and carefully preserve the marks of all unrecognized footsteps, which might have been imprinted during the preceding night, in order that, if called upon, they might be enabled satisfactorily to take up and carry on the traces.[1]

laid down, in regard to persons accused of those crimes. About the same time King Valdemar II abolished the trial by ordeal in Denmark. Vestiges of the practice have, however, been traced by antiquaries in customs long afterwards used. Such was that of leaping over the fire on Midsummer Eve, a superstitious instance of agility, from which we are told grave clergymen had to be deterred by an interdiction of ecclesiastical authority. Such also were the long-continued customs of swimming people suspected of witchcraft, or weighing them against the church Bible, of which former King James in his *Dæmonologie*, as quoted by Brand, observes that, 'it appears that God hath appointed 'for a supernatural signe of the monstrous impietie of witchcrafte, that 'the water shall refuse to receive them in her bosom that have shaken 'off them the sacred water of baptism, and wilfully refused the benefit 'thereof.' Such a relic, also, is probably the proverbial expression of *going through fire and water to serve any one*. A further relic of the ordeal has been noticed in the replication which a prisoner under indictment was called upon to make, that he would be tried '*by God and the country*,' or more properly '*by God* or *the country*,' that is to say, either by jury or by *ordeal*—the *judicium Dei*.

In our County Courts in England, and Sheriff Courts in Scotland, where the case is often allowed to rest wholly or partly on the oath of the party, we have returned very much to the old ordeal trial.

'There are cases,' says that philosophic jurist, Bentham, 'in which 'no evidence can be had; in which plaintiff and defendant stand on 'their mere affirmation and denial; ought the plaintiff to be denied 'the only means left,—an appeal to the conscience of his adversary? 'I answer, that, in all such cases (*and they are not instances of true judicial 'procedure, but of a sort of ordeal, similar to that of red-hot iron or boiling 'water*), it would be much better,' &c.

[1] It is curious to notice the similarity between the state of things which we have thus described, and that which once existed in our own country. 'The criminal laws of the Anglo-Saxons,' says Russell, in his *History of Modern Europe*, vol. i, p. 53, 'as of most barbarous 'nations, were far from being severe; a compensation in money being

Besides the territory which was under the jurisdiction of the hereditary chiefs of the country, and that which was entirely controlled by the central government, there was a portion of the lands of Goozerat which occupied an intermediate position, under the sway of a class of men who, though not possessed of hereditary rights, had succeeded in assuming what was well nigh their equivalent. Of this class we may select as a prominent example the Kusbâtees of Dholka. 'Previous to the fall of the Mogul government,' says Colonel Walker, 'the Kusbâtees, as soldiers of fortune who had 'acquired a competence, settled at Dholka. From their 'numbers and warlike character, their influence was great, 'and they were feared by that predatory race of men—the 'Kâtees. When the Mahrattas obtained the supremacy in 'this part of the country, they were useful to them. At this 'time, owing to the frequent wars and revolutions in the 'government, Goozerat was in a state of anarchy, and the 'district of Dholka had nearly become an uncultivated waste. 'The Guikowâr government was incapable of remedying these 'disorders, and of restoring the revenue without the assistance 'of men of influence in the country, and who had a command 'of cash. The Kusbâtees on this occasion offered to restore 'the population of the several villages, on condition that 'each village which they brought into cultivation should be 'leased to them for a certain number of years, at a fixed rent. 'These offers were accepted, and since that time it has been 'customary to grant leases to the Kusbâtees of those villages 'which have from time to time become waste.'

'deemed sufficient for murder of any species, and for the lives of persons 'of any rank, including the king and the primate, whose head, by the 'laws of Kent, was estimated at a higher rate than that of the king. 'The prices of all kinds of wounds were also settled; and he who was 'detected in adultery with his neighbour's wife was ordered, by the 'laws of Ethelbert, to pay him a fine, and buy him another wife. The 'punishments for robbery were various, but none of them capital. If 'any person could trace his stolen cattle into another's ground, the owner 'of the ground was obliged to show their tracks out of it, or pay the value 'of the cattle.

'But if the punishments for crimes among the Anglo-Saxons were 'remarkable, their pretended proofs were no less so.' The author then goes on to describe the ordeal system.

CHAPTER V

RAJPOOT LAND-TENURES UNDER THE BRITISH

In a minute, dated 6th April, 1821,[1] Mr. Elphinstone describes the effects of the introduction of British power into Goozerat. Each of the collectorates of Ahmedabad and Kaira into which the British territory north of the Myhee is divided, contains, he says, 'two sorts of villages, *Khâlsâ and Grâssiâ,*' the former being those which had been immediately managed by the Mogul and Mahratta governments, and the latter those which had been subject to the hereditary jurisdiction of the chiefs. 'The former are directly under the government, the 'latter are held by a grâssiâ chief, to whom the government 'looks for revenue, and formerly looked for maintaining order. 'The most striking division of the grâssiâ villages is into 'those held by Rajpoots or grâssiâs, properly so called, and 'those held by Koolees, generally termed *Mewâs*. The former, 'though foreigners, were in possession of Goozerat when the 'Mohummedans invaded it; they retained some tâlooks (lord-'ships) and villages at that time, and they recovered others by 'encroachment on the final weakness of the Moguls. They 'are at once a more civilised and a more warlike race than 'the Koolees; and it is, perhaps, owing to these circumstances, 'as well as to their having more recently possessed the govern-'ment of the province, that their claims appear to be much 'more respected than those of the Koolees. The latter, though 'probably the aborigines, seem generally to be considered as 'rebellious, or at least refractory, villagers, who have, from the 'weakness of former governments, eluded or resisted the just 'claims of the sirkâr (government). Both pay a sum to 'government, which government appears to have had the

[1] For which see *Selection of Papers from the Records at the East India House, &c.*, printed by order of the Court of Directors, in 1826, vol. iii, pp. 677 to 697. The compiler states that 'the original is, in many 'places, obscure and defective.' We have, therefore, had the less hesitation in restoring the correct names where these were apparent.

'right to increase. It was not usual to interfere with the 'internal management of their villages, or to examine the 'state of their receipts. Our government has asserted the 'right, without always assuming the exercise of internal inter-'ference; but it is only of late that it has begun to inquire 'into the collections, by establishing tulâtees (subordinate 'revenue collectors) in grâssiâ and Mewâs villages. The whole 'of the pergunnahs of Dhundhooka, Rânpoor, and Gogo, 'except the kusbas (or chief towns), are in the hands of 'grâssiâ Rajpoots, as is a considerable part of Dholka; there 'were also a few in Veerumgâm, which have been swallowed 'up during the exactions of the Mahrattas. The Kusbâtees 'of Dholka, though Mussulmâns, and the chief of Pâtree, 'though a Koonbee, and though both differ from the others 'in the nature of their tenure, may yet be reckoned in this 'class; but by far the greater number are Rajpoots. They 'resemble their neighbours and brethren in Jhâlâwâr, but are 'more intelligent and respectable. The chiefs of Limree and 'Bhownugger are among the number of our subjects in those 'districts, though they have large possessions elsewhere. 'They are all quiet and obedient. Tulâtees have been intro-'duced into the villages of those of Dholka, and all their 'revenue, but twenty per cent. of their own share, after 'deducting that of the ryots, is now levied by government. 'The police, also, has either been committed to mookhee 'putels (or village head-men), in a manner independent of 'their authority, or left in their own hands, subject to all 'restrictions of that humble officer of the police. The others 'are still on their former footing as to revenue; but they are 'under the Adâwlut (or Court of Justice), and are either 'themselves agents of the magistrate, or are superseded by 'their putels. The principal Mewâsees are the Koolees of 'the Choonwâl, and those of the Purântej, Hursole, and 'Morâsâ districts. The former are quite reduced, have 'received tulâtees, and pay all their revenue but twenty-five 'per cent; but the latter maintain their independence, and 'in some instances their rebellious and predatory spirit.' . . .

'The most striking circumstances in the progress of our government are the extraordinary obstacles that existed to

'introducing order, and the surprising success with which 'they have been overcome. The continual intermixture of 'our territories with those of the Guikowâr, the Peshwah, 'the Nowaub of Cambay, and the unsettled tributaries of 'Kâteewâr and the Myhee Kântâ, the number of half-sub-'dued grâssiâs and Mewâsees within our own limits, the 'numerous and ill-defined tenures in almost every village, and 'the turbulent and predatory character of a large proportion 'of the people, combined to make the country beyond the 'Myhee more difficult to manage than any part of the Com-'pany's territories; yet, by the caution of government and 'the judgment and temper of the local officers, our authority 'and our system have been established with the utmost tran-'quillity, without either irritating our subjects or embarrassing 'ourselves by any sudden or violent changes. Of late years 'our innovations have been proceeding with accelerated pro-'gress; and although the danger of hasty improvement is 'now diminished, it may still be necessary to retard their 'advance, or at least fix the limit beyond which it is not 'designed they should extend.

'When we first obtained the pergunnahs forming the old 'Kaira collectorship, the whole were put in charge of Colonel 'Walker, and managed by his assistants; everything was left 'entirely on its old footing, and nothing was done but to 'gain some information regarding the actual condition of 'things. When regular collectors were appointed, the same 'system was for a long time pursued.

'The only change in the revenue department attempted 'among the grâssiâs was the increase to their tribute, to which 'they were at all times liable; but the principles of a tribute 'were observed as long as they were under Kaira, and with 'the single and temporary exception of Bâpoo Meeâ, Kusbâtee 'of Dholka, no scrutiny was attempted into their resources or 'management.

'The introduction of the judicial regulations was certainly 'a great innovation, and was very early adopted; but it 'seems doubtful whether the effect was soon felt. It is not 'likely that many of the inhabitants of the grâssiâ villages 'came to our courts to complain; and where the plaintiff

'belonged to a khâlsâ village it would be thought natural and 'proper for government to interfere in his behalf.

'The first changes that were much felt were produced by 'the regulations for the appointment of mookhee putels and 'of tulâtees, particularly the latter. The grâssiâs who held 'more villages than one were compelled to appoint mookhee 'putels, who from the time of their appointment became 'responsible to the magistrate alone. Those who had one 'village were themselves appointed mookhee putels; in other 'cases they were obliged to nominate another person for each 'village, who was responsible to the magistrate, and not to the 'grâssiâs. Tulâtees were introduced into all the villages of 'the grâssiâs of Dholka, and it was proposed to introduce 'them into all the grâssiâ villages in Dhundhooka, Rânpoor, 'and Gogo. A further change has taken place in the alteration 'of the principle of the Dholka payments from a tribute paid 'to government to a certain proportion of the produce left 'to the grâssiâs, and that proportion is only twenty per cent. 'of the *government share*, from which all village expenses, 'including tulâtees' pay, are to be defrayed.

'The effect of this change on the income of the chiefs is 'shewn by the payments of the three principal grâssiâs, to 'which I have added the two chief Kusbâtees, though their 'situation is somewhat different.

	1802.	1817.	1820.
	Rupees.	*Rupees.*	*Rupees.*
The Chief of Kot . .	48,000	57,000	72,000
The Chief of Gângur .	15,500	19,000	23,000
The Chief of Oonteleea .	6,000	6,000	11,000
Bâpoo Meeâ Kusbâtee .	50,000	73,000	89,000
Luteef Khân Kusbâtee .	11,000	13,000	16,000

'Their payments, especially those of the grâssiâs, have 'greatly increased, and more within the last three years than 'in the preceding fifteen.

'The appointment of a tulâtee is very disagreeable to the 'chiefs, and those of Dholka assured me that they felt the 'presence of that officer more than the increase of their 'tribute. They said he assumed the character of a repre-

'sentative of government, received complaints from their 'ryots, threw their whole village into confusion, and utterly 'destroyed their consequence among their people.

'The Adâwlut, also, as we came into closer contact with the 'chiefs, has been more felt ; and we have reason to regret that 'some modifications were not made in our code before it was 'applied to a people in a state of society so different from that 'which our laws contemplate, and employed to enforce agree-'ments concluded at a time when the strict execution of them 'was so little foreseen ; the Raja of Kot, who, at the time of 'Colonel Walker's report in 1804, maintained a body of 150 'horse, and 2000 seebundees, was sent to prison for neglecting 'a summons from a magistrate ; and the chief of Pâtree, who 'once resisted for two months the attacks of the Guikowâr 'army, was thrown into jail for his inability to pay debts con-'tracted in consequence of war and contributions during the 'period of his independence. I cannot more strongly shew the 'change that has taken place than by pointing out that these 'are the persons whom Colonel Walker, and I believe all the 'gentlemen employed in the first introduction of our authority, 'declared to be *sovereign princes*, with whom we had no right 'to interfere beyond the collection of a tribute, and that they 'are now deprived of all power and consequence, and nearly 'the whole of their revenue. Almost all these changes have, 'in effect, taken place within these three years. They cannot 'but feel a change so sudden, and it must be owned that they 'have suffered hardships, though not perhaps injustice.'

Whether the Rajpoot chiefs were or were not treated with justice is a point upon which Mr. Elphinstone appears to hesitate. Had the great literary task of that eminent man been completed, as all must so much desire that it had been, the historian of India might, perhaps, have pronounced upon a question which the Governor of Bombay was reluctant to decide. Under present circumstances we can but conjecture what the causes of his hesitation may have been.

In regard to the jurisdiction of the local chiefs, the British government had at least acted inconsistently. When, in 1802, they accepted the cession of the territory of Dhollera, forming part of the pergunnah or district of Dhundhooka, then subject

to the Peshwah, and in the face of the Mahratta prince's rights, hoisted their flag therein, as sovereigns, they not only assented to, but positively asserted, that which they so often afterwards denied—the sovereign rights of the local chieftains. Thirteen years afterwards, however, when the jurisdiction of the Râwul of Bhownugger in the pergunnah of Gogo, now ceded to them by the Mahrattas, was in question, they endeavoured to prove by laboured but untenable historical arguments, that that chief had been entitled to exercise no jurisdiction therein. The general question was confused by an unnecessary and impracticable attempt to maintain it as a fact that the state of subordination which we wished to establish had actually existed under the now fallen governments of the Mohummedans and the Mahrattas. Upon this point the preceding pages will enable the reader to form his own opinion. Perhaps he will agree with us that 'the hand 'of conquest' had not reached so far as was now maintained, and that the Bhoomeeâ chiefs, though rendered tributary, had many of them preserved their local authority. We cannot, however, regard the Rajpoot chiefs in the light of 'sovereign 'princes,' at least in any sense of that term which would not be equally applicable to the Celtic chiefs of the Scottish Highlands, nor do we regard the annulment of their seigneurial rights as in itself an act of injustice, any more than we so regard the abolition of the heritable jurisdictions in Scotland. The Sultans of Ahmedabad, and still more the Emperors of Delhi, exercised a supremacy over the Hindoo princes perhaps at least as great as was ever maintained by the House of Stuart in Cromarty or in Argyle. And in the prosperous days of Unhilpoor there can be no doubt of the supreme power of the sovereign.

It is at least manifest that the feudal power of the local chiefs within the British territory could not have been long preserved; it was not in Goozerat alone, of the provinces of Hindoostan, that the banner of the golden leopards was displayed in assertion of sovereignty; and when the descendants of Seevâjee and of Teimoor had alike succumbed, it was not to be expected that a greater antiquity in their title, or a still more evident inferiority in their power should long preserve others.

Besides, the victory which democratic tendencies had gained within the conquering nation itself, could not have failed sooner or later to influence the conquered; the tempest which had broken upon the cliffs of England was sure before long to make itself felt in the higher rising of the surges which rolled upon the beach of Soreth; and the Wâghela of Sânund and the Gohil of Peerum could not hope to escape the arm which had reft their hereditary power from McKenzie and McShimei. Where royal power has ceased to exist, there royal rights also must be admitted to have perished, and a great supremacy must necessarily extinguish petty jurisdictions, as the sun does a little fire.

When, however, we regard particular cases, the grounds of Mr. Elphinstone's hesitation more plainly appear. We may take as an example the fortunes of the Raja of Kot, or Sânund, a chief who was the heir of Jeto, or Ujetra Singh Wâghela, and the presumed descendant, if not the representative of Raja Kurun, the last of the sovereigns of Unhilpoor. It may be excusable to repeat here the exact words of Colonel Walker's testimony regarding his principality:—'The Mewâs villages '(of Dholka),' he says, 'are in a state of independence, and 'pay with difficulty their contribution of *ghânsdhânâ*. This 'is obtained or fixed by a large military force, or by a nego-'tiation with the chiefs who are concerned, which generally 'secures them an abatement. Some of these chiefs are 'grâssiâs of more or less influence, but the chief of Kot 'assumes the title of Raja, and is said to claim a very high 'descent. Each of these chieftains has a certain number of 'armed followers, who attend him voluntarily, and subsist on 'his bounty, or on the fruits of their mutual plunder. But 'the Kot Raja has in his service a force of two thousand 'seebundees (or irregular infantry), and one hundred and 'fifty horsemen, who mount guard at his village, and who are 'engaged to defend his person, or to wage hostilities, like the 'troops of a sovereign prince. The village of Kot is not 'fortified, but it is in the middle of jungle, and surrounded 'by fastnesses. The Kot Wâlâ (the Raja) has under his juris-'diction twenty-four villages, and pays generally a jumma of 'Rs. 42,723 yearly, but this varies according to circumstances.

'. . . The Mewâsees, according to the Mahratta term, are 'so powerful in Dholka that they are nearly on the footing 'of Moolukgeeree tributaries, and required an annual arma-'ment to obtain payment of their jumma, or ghânsdhânâ. 'If the troops were numerous, the harvest ensued immediately, 'and the contribution was fixed on an increased ratio. 'If, on the other hand, the force employed was not very 'strong, a skirmish ensued, and whatever might be its issue, 'the resistance was thought honorable to the Mewâs, and after 'the subjection of their country to pillage, the affair ended in a 'composition for more or less, according to circumstances.'

There was in fact an almost imperceptible distinction between the Molukgeeree tributaries and such chiefs as those above-mentioned, who paid not a revenue, but a tribute, and that only under the pressure of a military force. The fate of the two classes of chiefs was, however, widely different. Had the lordship of Sânund been situated a few miles farther to the west, and beyond the line which separated the pergunnah of Dholka from the neighbouring Moolukgeeree country of Kâteewâr, the hereditary jurisdiction and honors of the chief would have been preserved to him, and his tribute, perhaps slightly increased, would have been fixed at a permanent rate for all future time. It can hardly then be wondered at, that, with a tribute raised in the course of a few years from Rs. 43,000 to 72,000, with dependents of his own lording it over him almost in his own mansion, as the agents of an all-powerful foreign domination, deprived, as Mr. Elphinstone says, 'of all power 'and consequence, and nearly the whole of his revenue,' and actually sent to jail for disobedience to a summons, the purport of which he probably very imperfectly understood, the descendant of the royal house of Unhilpoor should complain of injustice as well as of hardship, and envy the happier fate of the former vassals of his family, the neighbouring Jhâlâ chieftains of Limree and Wudwân, who had, by better fortune, fallen under the Mahratta, instead of the British rule.

It would require a far more extended discussion than we have space for, and would weary the patience of our readers, were we to pursue this subject in detail. We therefore allude to merely one or two points. There appears to have been no

sufficient distinction drawn between such mere leaseholds as those of the Dholka Kusbâtees and the permanent titles of the Rajpoot chieftains to their lands,—titles of which Colonel Walker had with much truth said, that 'they are derived to 'their possessors by hereditary descent from a period of the 'most remote antiquity, of which there is no record; but they 'are secured to them by universal assent, and are at this day 'unimpaired in their privileges. These rights, which have 'been maintained by arms and an unconquerable sentiment in 'favor of them, have withstood the revolutions of ages, and 'outlived the Mohummedan dominion, which did everything 'in its power to subvert them.'

The government of Bombay,[1] in speaking of the tenures of the Jhâreja grâssiâs, supply a very clear description of the position of a Rajpoot cadet. 'The Jhârejas of Anjar,' they say, 'are the direct descendants of the younger brothers of 'former Rows, who have had grâs assigned to them, which 'has in the course of years been divided and subdivided 'among their numerous descendants. They are lords of 'their *kurum bhâg*,[2] or share, which they possess by right of 'birth, and originally paid no pecuniary acknowledgment to 'the Row; but their services in times of general danger have 'always been considered as one of the terms on which they 'held their grâs, and whenever the Bhyud have assembled, 'they received an allowance of grain for their horses, and 'food and opium for themselves. . . . The quantity of land 'assigned to them for their exclusive benefit, and which they 'hold rent-free, provided they cultivate it themselves, is 'designated *grâssiâ owga*, and is called in Goozerat, *jeewâee* '(that is, "a subsistence"); but if cultivated by the ryots, 'it is subject to a veera, or tax, to the government, the grâssiâ 'receiving a rent as proprietor of the land.'

Numerous instances of this state of things have been given in the course of the present work, and surely if there be such a thing as a right to landed property in the world (which some,

[1] *Vide* Revenue Letter from Bombay, of 31st May, 1818, p. 750, vol. iii, of the *Selection of Papers*.

[2] An expression which literally means, 'Destiny-share,'—'the share 'which fortune has assigned.'

we are aware, will hardly admit), it is difficult to make out a better title to land than that which was thus possessed by the grâssiâs of Goozerat. The Court of Directors, however, thought differently. They considered the lands of the Jhâreja grâssiâs to be held simply 'on condition of service.' 'The 'decision upon these rights,' they say, 'is involved in the 'same difficulties as that upon the grants on account of ser- 'vices in other parts of India, when the services are no longer 'required. These grants, we think, ought not to amount to 'absolute property; and when the services cease to be per- 'formed, or cease to be required, the case is open to the 'decision of government.'

The Bombay despatch had only stated that service was '*one* 'of the terms' upon which the grâssiâs held their lands; and the history of our own country would hardly lead to the conclusion that lands possessed hereditarily on tenure of military service could be considered to have escheated solely on the ground that the service was 'no longer required' by the crown. It is more to the purpose, however, to observe that the practice of Goozerat was certainly very different, and that the rights of the grâssiâs were by no means dependent upon the pleasure of the sovereign in regard to their employment in his military array.

'The *right* of government,' says the Court of Directors, in A. D. 1819, 'to increase the sulâmee,[1] or tribute, payable by 'the grâssiâs is, in our apprehension, very clearly established. 'This right would, indeed, naturally arise out of the decision 'previously passed on the question of sovereignty, which has 'been determined to vest solely in the Company, to the utter 'exclusion of the pretensions set forth by the grâssiâs, Bheels, 'and Koolees. The effect of that decision was to place these 'classes on the same footing as other subjects, and consequently 'to render their property liable to a proportionate share of the 'public burden in all cases where a special exemption from or 'limitation of demand on the part of the sovereign power, 'either for a term of years or in perpetuity, cannot be pleaded 'against such liability.' The right of increasing the grâssiâ

[1] For the Mohummedan account of the origin of this tribute *vide* p. 271, where the terms *sulâmee* and *wântâ* are explained.

tribute (as a tribute) was hardly one which a British government could press. If it existed at all, it must have been derived from the Mohummedans; and if so derived, it was, by the Mohummedan's own account of it, based upon, and limited by, nothing but force. Upon the principles laid down in the latter part of the paragraph, however, the case of the Raja of Kot (to adhere to that example) would, as it appears to us, have stood more favorably for that chief than it did, and somewhat as follows:—His territory would have been subject to the British jurisdiction; his tribute would have been fixed upon a due consideration of what he had paid to former governments,—would, in fact, have been calculated in the manner in which the tribute had been calculated in the Myhee Kântâ or in Kâteewâr; and (if this were considered less than his fair contribution towards meeting the necessities of the state) he would, in addition, have been called upon to bear his 'proportionate share of the public burden,' by either providing for the police and judicial arrangements within his estate himself, or by paying his share of the expenses of the government courts and the government police, but he would have been left to settle with the cultivators of his lands without any interference on the part of the state, as had been the case under the sway of the Mahratta or the Mohummedan. It was the confusion we have alluded to which, perhaps, lay at the root of the harsher treatment which the grâssiâs received. 'It is now 'clear, however,' continues the Court, 'that the privileges 'to which the grâssiâs lay claim may be traced for the most 'part, if not altogether, to the venality, remissness, or imbecility of persons charged with the maintenance of the rights 'of the sovereign; *that their wântâ lands are rarely held by 'any better titles than are derivable from collusion, fraud, or 'violence (!)*; that the contributions which they levy under 'the denomination of *tora grâs* are generally of similar origin; 'and that in some instances, having sprung from the most 'frivolous and whimsical occurrences, they have been subsequently tolerated by weakness, and submitted to through 'fear.' In the remarks of the Court three years afterwards even, there may still be observed that leaning against the grâssiâs as a body which we have supposed to have been originally

occasioned by an incomplete appreciation of the distinction between tenures which, though both passing under the name of grâs, were entirely opposite in their nature and origin. 'The 'alienations,' it is said, 'in behalf of the grâssiâs and those 'other tribes who have proceeded by forcible methods, appear 'to have been either granted in former times by the govern-'ment as a retaining fee for military services no longer 'required of them, or to be usurpations perpetrated upon the 'people, who thus endeavoured to purchase exemption from 'the depredations which these fighting tribes were in the habit 'of practising upon them. We cannot but look upon all their 'acquisitions with an unfavourable eye; and though we can 'easily conceive that considerations of expediency may for-'cibly recommend forbearance, we shall always rejoice when 'the extent of their possessions is diminished.'

Considerations of justice and fairness apart, much, no doubt, may be said against the local chieftains; their utility, it may be urged, had passed away; their 'services' were 'no longer 'required'; they were as little likely to be reclaimed from their slothfulness and indisposition to the arts of peace, as they were to accept of the discipline which would have rendered them once again valuable in the day of war. It must, however, be recollected that experienced officers have been found to maintain, even at the present day, that the internal tranquillity of Goozerat has suffered in consequence of the diminution of that influence, which the sons of the Kshutrees had so long maintained against such fearful odds; it is by no means certain that, under more generous treatment, the character of the grâssiâs might not have improved; and, even in these days, the opinion is not wholly without supporters, which considers that a body of landlords, commanding respect from their hereditary title, may be a valuable bulwark to their land. However these things may be, it must, at least, be permitted to a lover of his country, to regret that the introduction of British power into Goozerat should have been attended with such well-founded causes of complaint to any portion of the inhabitants, as those which it certainly afforded to the descendants of Ujetra Singh Wâghela or Mokherâjee Gohil.

The opinions above expressed, in favor of the local chieftains,

are not at variance with those which Mr. Elphinstone appears to have held. He proposed to remove the tulâtees at Dholka, to fix the payments of the grâssiâs, so as to leave them thirty per cent. instead of twenty on the government share, subject to a quinquennial revision on the same principle; he recommended that certain personal immunities should be granted to the grâssiâs, in their relation to the courts of justice; and urged, 'that all claims against them for old debts, even if sup-'ported by bonds, should be examined, with reference to all 'circumstances arising from the situation of the parties at the 'time when they were contracted, by which the nature of the 'debts might be affected; and that, instead of seizing and 'confining the persons of the grâssiâs, the judges should issue 'a precept to the collector to sequestrate as large a portion of 'the lands as might suffice for the gradual payment of the debt, 'leaving a decent maintenance to the grâssiâ.' Mr. Elphinstone further advised, 'that the grâssiâ should be employed as 'head of the police wherever he conveniently could, and that he 'should have no formal appointment of mookhee putel, a title 'which a Rajpoot chief must look on as a degradation.'

In regard to the Mewâsees (which term he appears to confine to the Koolee chieftains), the recommendations of Mr. Elphinstone proceed still further, and to the full extent of the sketch which we have drawn in speaking of the affairs of the Wâghela chieftain. 'It appears,' says the governor, 'that there is no 'trace in history of their (the Mewâsees) ever having been on 'a footing of greater dependence than they are at present; 'and it follows that we have derived no claim to reduce them 'further from our predecessors, and must rest our right to do 'so on the law of nature, which entitles us to control our 'neighbours as far as is required by our own security; and 'this ought, therefore, to be the limit of our interference. 'Considering the want of military force in the territory, it is 'surprising how little trouble the Mewâsees have given us 'since we first came into Goozerat; and it would be equally 'inconsistent with justice and policy to risk this tranquillity 'for a little addition to the revenue, or a fancied improvement 'in the police. That the improvement would be real, I think 'more than doubtful; for, unless where Koolees have acquired

'habits of industry and order, they can only be restrained by 'rendering the communities to which they belong responsible 'for their conduct; and, if we could quietly succeed in 'bringing each individual under the direct operation of our 'police, the effect, I doubt not, would be a great increase of 'robberies. I would, therefore, propose that, in the Mewâsee 'villages, we should hold the Thâkor responsible for the 'tribute, and for the maintenance of the public tranquillity. 'He might be required to give security, if necessary, and 'should be required to restore stolen property, and to give up 'offenders, but he should be under none of the regulations 'applicable to mookhee putels, and it should rest with the 'magistrate what offences to notice in his village. All serious 'crimes ought, of course, to be noticed, and the criminal 'should be demanded of the Thâkor. The demand should be 'enforced by a mohsul and a daily fine. Obstinate neglect 'might be punished by apprehending the Thâkor, and re-'sistance by attacking him as a public enemy. Complaints 'of a serious nature against the Thâkor personally, should be 'investigated in a summary way by the collector, before he 'proceeded to apprehend the accused; when it became neces-'sary to apprehend him, he should be made over to the 'criminal judge in the usual manner. Thâkors habitually 'guilty of connivance at plunder, might be deposed and im-'prisoned, the office of chief being made over to another 'member of the family; or their villages might be garrisoned 'by troops, and deprived of all Mewâsee privileges.

'No tulâtees should be appointed, and the tribute should be 'kept nearly stationary. A small increase might be put on 'suitable cases to preserve the right of the government; but, 'in general, the greatest profit should be left to the villages, 'to encourage their attending to agriculture. Civil justice 'ought, in most cases, to be allowed to take its course, but, in 'some villages, it would be expedient for complaints to be 'made, in the first instance, to the magistrate, who might de-'cide whether to send them to the courts or to settle them by 'punchâyets, supported by mohsuls.'

We must here take leave of the subject, to which we have already devoted more space than we can well afford, though

far too little for its real importance. The practical value of Mr. Elphinstone's counsel has, we may remind our readers, by no means passed away at the present time, for the hour must come, be it sooner or later, when portions of the province of Goozerat, wherein grâssiâs and Mewâsees still exist, with influence not much impaired and habits but little altered, shall necessarily pass under the direct dominion of the British government.

It is satisfactory to observe that if one portion of the inhabitants of Goozerat was subjected to hardship as the result of the introduction of British rule, other and more numerous sections of the people were largely the gainers. 'It is not to 'be supposed,' says Mr. Elphinstone, 'that my stay in these 'zillahs could enable me to form any opinion of the real con- 'dition of the people. The facts that present themselves on a 'hasty view are that the grâssiâs are weakened and depressed ; 'that the Desâees and all the hereditary officers, including the 'putels, are stripped of power and influence, and given 'security of persons and property in exchange ; that the 'bankers are deprived of one large branch of their profits by 'the change in our system of revenue, and of another by the 'decline of commerce, occasioned by the downfall of so many 'native states, and the equal diffusion of property ; that the 'Bhâts, once so important in Goozerat, are now almost too 'insignificant to mention, and that the ryots have gained much 'wealth, comfort, and security among all the sufferers. Those 'engaged in commerce, and perhaps the grâssiâs, are the only 'classes that give rise to regret. There are no hereditary 'chiefs, no established military leaders, and no body of men 'that claimed (*s. o.*) respect from even an apparent devotion 'to learning or religion. The property of those who have 'suffered was built upon the depression of the people, and 'their fall has been compensated by the rise of the ryots, the 'most numerous, most industrious, and most respectable part 'of the community. To that order our government has, 'beyond all doubt, been a blessing. It has repelled predatory 'invasion, restrained intestine disorder, administered equal and 'impartial justice, and has almost extirpated every branch of 'exaction and oppression. The appearance of the country

'on this side of the Sâbhermutee, which has been long in our 'possession, is what might be expected in such circumstances. 'The former affluence of the upper classes is apparent in the 'excellence of their houses; and the prosperity of the ryots 'appears in the comfort of their dwellings, the neatness of their 'dress, and the high cultivation of their lands. In the fertility 'and improvement of the fields, there are many parts of the 'Bengal provinces which cannot be surpassed; but in the 'abundance of trees and hedges, in handsome and substantial 'well-built villages, and in the decent and thriving appearance 'of the people, I have seen nothing in India that can bear a 'comparison with the eastern zillah of Goozerat.'

In order to understand the improvement which had taken place in the position of the ryot or cultivator, we must see what that was under the native rule. Colonel Walker presents us with a description, which we quote, simply premising that a similar state of things to that which he pourtrays exists at the present hour in parts of Goozerat which are not under the direct authority of the British government. 'The proprietors '(of alienated lands),' says Colonel Walker, 'possess the 'right of assessing the ryots, and of leasing their lands to the 'best advantage. They appear to exercise the same rights 'in this respect as a proprietor in Europe, but their rate of 'assessment is commonly under that of the government. It 'does not appear that the government interferes in this matter, 'but it is well understood that in the case of oppression on the 'one part, or of misdemeanor on the other, either party has a 'right to complain, and the ryot, if he dislikes the terms of his 'landlord, may remove into another district. This is the usual 'resource, and the whole of the inhabitants of a village, or 'that part of them which may be aggrieved, whether on 'private lands or holding from the government, will remove 'into another district, and accept of new lands there, or remain 'until they receive redress and have obliged the landholders 'to accede to their terms. To prevent these emigrations the 'komâvishdârs sometimes agree among themselves not to 'afford those who quarrel with their landlords any employ-'ment within their districts; but it happens as frequently that 'they are ready to take advantage of their ill-treatment and

'to avail themselves of their services. It may be here remarked 'that even the ryot or cultivator of government land has 'rights by prescription, and to deprive him of the spot which 'he or his family had long cultivated would be considered 'as an arbitrary act, unauthorized by law, or custom, which 'is the same thing; such ejectments therefore seldom 'happen.'

The security which the ryot possessed lay, practically, in the fact that his caste-fellows were sure to espouse his cause, and that his landlord could not expel him, because he dare not venture upon an act which might cause them also to retire; the state of things was represented by the eastern proverb already quoted:—'In the multitude of people is the king's 'honor, but in the want of people is the destruction of the 'prince.' Under the British rule, however, the ryot was not only protected from foreign invasion and intestine disorder, but was actually vested with (what he never possessed before) a proprietary right to the land which he occupied, which he might now sell without the consent of his so-called landlord, and from which the government itself had no power to eject him as long as he continued to pay his rent.

Another institution of their British rulers was not so favorable in its action upon the cultivating population, while it mitigated in no slight degree the disadvantages under which the commercial, which were also the usurious, classes had fallen. The premature introduction of a judicial system, founded upon European maxims, produced evil effects, which, as we have already seen, were deprecated by Mr. Elphinstone. Four years afterwards (in A. D. 1825) they were thus vividly depicted by one who (as far at least as his position was concerned), may be called a still more impartial observer,—Bishop Heber.[1] 'The greatest evil of the land here (in Goozerat),'

[1] [Bishop Reginald Heber (1783–1826) was appointed Bishop of Calcutta in 1823 and died of apoplexy in the swimming bath at Trichinopoly in 1826. His *Narrative of a Journey through the Upper Provinces of India*, here quoted, appeared posthumously in 1828. The two final Appeal Courts, the *Sadr Dīwāni Adālat* for civil cases and the *Sadr Nizāmat Adālat* for criminal cases, dated from the days of Warren Hastings. Side by side with these, Lord North's Regulating Act (1773) established a Supreme Court. 'In the *Sadr Adālats* and other courts

says Heber, 'as elsewhere in India, is the system of the 'Adâwlut courts, their elaborate and intricate machinery, their 'intolerable and expensive delays, and the severity of their 'debtor and creditor laws. Even in the Adâwlut, however, 'a very essential improvement had been introduced by Mr. 'Elphinstone in discarding the Persian language, and appoint-'ing all proceedings to be in that of Goozerat. Still there 'remained many evils, and in a land so eaten up by poverty 'on the one hand and usury on the other, the most calamitous 'results continually followed, and the most bitter indignation 'was often excited by the judgments, ejectments, and other 'acts of the court, which though intended only to do justice 'between man and man, yet frequently depopulated villages, 'undid ancient families, pulled down men's hereditary and 'long-possessed houses over their heads, and made the judges 'hated and feared by the great body of the people, as practis-'ing severities in the recovery of private debts which none of 'the native governors, however otherwise oppressive, either 'ventured to do or thought of doing. One good effect has 'indeed followed, that by making a debt more easy to recover, 'the rate of interest has been lessened. But this is a poor 'compensation for the evils of a system which, to pay a debt, 'no matter how contracted, strips the weaver of his loom, the 'husbandman of his plough, and pulls the roof from the 'castle of the feudal chieftain; and which, when a village is 'once abandoned by its inhabitants in a time of famine, 'makes it next to impossible for those inhabitants, who are 'all more or less in debt, to return in better times to their 'houses and lands again.'

of the Company, the judges knew nothing of English Law, and were required by executive order to proceed according to equity, justice, and good conscience unless Hindu or Muhammedan Law was in point or some Regulation expressly applied. In the Supreme Court the civil and criminal law administered was English, as also was the procedure followed. These two judicial systems were, therefore, antagonistic.' *Imperial Gazetteer* (1907), iv, 145. The confusion was finally remedied by the Indian High Courts Act, 1861, which amalgamated the Supreme and *Sadr* Courts of each Presidency. Forbes, afterwards himself a Judge of the *Adâlat* Court in Bombay, often complains of the evils of the old system.]

No less disastrous results might, perhaps, have been expected from the attempt to mould all at once the habits of the torrid zone into those of 'this nook-shotten isle of Albion,' and to apply, without an intermediate step, institutions which suited the subjects of George IV., to a state of society bearing so much more near a resemblance to that of the reign of Alfred.

CHAPTER VI

RELIGIOUS SERVICES—FESTIVALS

In order to explain more readily the common form of a Hindoo temple, we resort once more to illustration. The adytum containing the object of worship is invariably covered with a 'shikur,' or bell-shaped spire; the mundup, or ante-chamber, is open, and contains in temples of Shiva a figure of the attendant bull, Nundee. Vaishnavite temples especially, have frequently two ante-chambers, in which case the first is open and the second closed. These, as also the temples of the Jain religion, have occasionally three spires, the centre one rather higher than the other two. The temple is surrounded by a Dhurumsâlâ, or house of accommodation for attendants and worshippers. The surrounding structure is, however, still sometimes, especially in Jain temples, formed of numerous small spire-covered shrines, and the lodging-houses are in that case detached, but the whole mass of buildings is frequently encircled by a fortified wall. A large temple presents, in fact, the appearance of a village; the auxiliary buildings look like substantial private houses, but are more liberally adorned with carved woodwork; and sometimes nearly the whole exterior of them is covered with rude paintings, representing marriages or other domestic festivals, or more frequently the achievements of the gods. Small reservoirs of water called koonds, circular wells, and more imposing wâvs or bowlees, and sometimes majestic tanks are the more or less indispensable accompaniments of places dedicated to the religion of the Hindoos. Like the Christian churches of the middle ages, the Hindoo temples of Goozerat are usually placed in situations highly favoured by nature. The awful gloom of the grove, the romantic beauty of the mountain glen, the brightness of the river's bank, the wildness of the cloud-enveloped peak, or the solemn calm of the ocean bay, are accessaries of which the religions of Shiva and of Âdeenâth know full well how to avail.

The officiating priests are in the temples of Shiva usually Gosâees; in those of Vishnoo, Brahmins or Wairâgees; in

FIG. II.

FLEVATION OF A HINDOO TEMPLE WITH TWO MUNDUPS

Devees' temples, low caste Brahmins or Gosâees—sometimes, as in the case of Boucherâjee, even Mohummedans. The priest in a Jain temple may be of any caste, with the curious provision that he be not a Shrâwuk, or layman of that religion. Low-caste Brahmins, especially the class called Bhojuk, who have already been mentioned, are frequently employed. The *Gosâees* are members of a monastic order which follows Shiva. They wear orange-tawny clothes, and the *teeluk*,[1] or sectarian mark upon their foreheads, is horizontal. The *Wairâgee* is a Vaishnavite monk, and wears a white dress and a perpendicular teeluk. Those who are servants of the Devees add to the teeluk a *chândlo* or red spot, made with a preparation of turmeric. The Jain monk is commonly called a *Juttee*, but the general name applying to all these orders is that of *Sunyâsee*, or anchorite. The Sunyâsees are now for the most part persons who have lost their property, have been deprived of their children, or suffered some other calamity, against which they have not had resolution to bear up. The intended recluse having arranged with a *gooroo*, or monkish dignitary, for his reception into the order, and having ascertained the favourable day by astrological calculation, breaks the sacred cord, if he be of the regenerate classes, removes the hair of his head, assumes the monastic dress, and with alms and prayers receives initiation. Sunyâsees are, however, sometimes consecrated at an early age; a person who despairs of having children not unfrequently vows to consecrate one son, if two be granted to his prayers; and among the Jains, when disciples are scarce, as they frequently are, the monks purchase children for the purpose of initiating them.[2]

[1] 'Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor *print any marks upon you*. I am the Lord.'—Leviticus xix. 28. Bishop Patrick notes that this imprinting of marks or signatures was understood to be fixing a badge or characteristic of the person's being devoted to some false deity.

[2] The following is the account given of himself by Gosâee Shumbhoopooree, one of these ascetics, whom we met with a few years ago :—

'I was born in Bikâner, and am the son of Pruthee Singh Shiv Singh 'Thâkor of Mooroo, in that country. The name which I bore as a Raj-'poot was Khet Singh, and my tribe was the Râthor. When I was 'four or five years old, Soorut Singh, Raja of Bikâner, seized upon the

Our readers will have gathered from the description already given of 'mental worship,' that the ordinary Hindoo religious service consists in performing for the idol such acts as a menial servant performs for his human master. The routine, which affords a tolerably distinct idea of Hindoo domestic life in former days, is most fully brought out in a carefully attended temple of Vishnoo, in which there are five daily services. At the time at which men rise from their beds in the morning, bells are rung in the temple; the royal drum and the conch-shell are sounded to awake the Dev from his slumbers. The officiating priest having performed ablutions enters the temple, and waves before the idol a lamp, having usually five or seven branches. At eight or nine in the morning the Dev is dressed in clothes suitable to the season of the year. In the cold weather he wears a quilted coat, and has a brazier placed beside him to afford warmth; in the hot weather he is anointed with sandal-wood dust and water to produce coolness, and is dressed in clothes of fine linen, and adorned with flowers and jewels; he is placed beside a fountain, and is fanned by his attendants. In the rainy season the Dev is dressed in scarlet cloth and shawls. At this time his breakfast is brought to him, which consists of rice and milk, and such other articles of food

'estate of Mooroo, and my father "went out" to recover it. I was with 'my father in outlawry until I attained the age of thirteen. My father 'then placed me in the temple of Mâtâ Shree Kurneejee, which is 'twelve kos from Bikâner. When the raja heard of this he sent for me 'to court, and giving me a dress of honour, ordered me to remain 'with him; but, as I suspected that his intentions were treacherous, 'I made my escape to Hotee, near Pokurn, in Marwar, where there is 'a temple of Muhâ Dev, and a monastery, of which Muhânunt Chundun-'poorec was then the superior. I remained ten days at the monastery, 'and saw the mode of life there, and it came into my mind that it would 'be better to live there than to continue in outlawry. My lock of hair 'was therefore cut off, and I was admitted as a disciple, and instructed 'by the gooroo. I remained at the monastery ten years, and afterwards 'went to Hinglâz on pilgrimage, and since then I have wandered about 'from one Hindoo holy place to another, and have visited Kâshee, 'Jwâlâ Mookhee, Hurdwâr, Dwârkâ, and other places. I am now 'about forty years old. About ten years ago I went to pay a visit to 'my own family. I found my elder brother, Beerjjee, alive, also my 'uncle Mân Singh, and his son, Rughoonâth, but my father was dead. 'They pressed me to remain with them, but I made my escape.'

as rich men use. This meal should, however, be accompanied by the whole of the 'sixteen acts of worship,' which will presently be described. The third service is at noon; the Dev is again rubbed with sandal, and adorned with fresh flowers. Lamps are lighted, and incense is burnt before him, and he is supplied with food according to the season of the year. He is now supposed to retire for a siesta, and silence must therefore be maintained in the temple. At three in the afternoon the royal drum announces that the Dev has finished his noon-day sleep, the attendants bring in fruit and confectionaries, a chess-board, dice, and other means of amusement. The most important of all the services is, however, the fourth, which takes place at sunset, and is accompanied by the whole of the sixteen acts of worship. The Dev is invited into the temple, a throne is set for him, water is offered him to wash his feet, an offering of water is sprinkled before him, and a cupfull is presented, that he may rinse his mouth. Preparations for the Dev's bath constitute the sixth act of worship; he is next provided with garments and with a sacrificial cord; sandal ointment is presented to him, scented flowers and incense are offered to him. The lighting of lamps is the twelfth act of worship; the various courses of a sumptuous dinner are then presented to him, concluding with the leaf of betel; the branched candlestick is waved before him as in the morning. The worshippers circumambulate the image several times, like warders going the rounds, which forms the fifteenth act of worship; and the whole service is concluded by a hymn of praise.

The '*Prudukshunâ*,' or circumambulation, is performed by some persons only once, by others seven times, and by others as often as one hundred and eight times. At each circuit the worshipper repeats the following 'muntra,' or verse of power,—

'Sin am I! sin-doer I! sinful-souled, sin-born! Protect 'me, O thou of the lotus-eye, all-sin-destroying Huree! '(Vishnoo.) Whatever sins of mine and others are in exist-'ence, though they attain the height of Meroo-mountain, all 'these find destruction at each step of the prudukshunâ.'[1]

[1] Compare the following:—'No sacrifice, however, was to be made

The last of the five daily services takes place at night time. Sandal, flowers, and incense are offered to the Dev, lamps are lighted, and a supper of milk, biscuits, and other articles is set before him. He is then supposed to retire to rest, and, if moveable, his image is placed upon a bed; otherwise it is covered with shawls and garments.

In the temples of Vishnoo there are usually two images, representing Seetâ and Râm, or Râdhâ and Krishn; Lukshmun, the brother of Râm, has also frequently an image. On the birthdays of Râm and Krishn, and on other festivals, the idols are crowned, and arrayed in royal attire. At the Hoolee, the Dev is dressed in yellow clothes, supplied with red powder and a squirt, and supposed to take part in the festivities. On another occasion the image of Vishnoo is carried to a river or lake, where it is bathed, and if the sheet of water be sufficiently extensive, it is placed in a boat that it may enjoy a sail.

In the temples of Shiva, and in those of Devees, the first, second, and fourth services only are used. The Jains merely wash their images with water, brush them, smear them with sandal, and adorn them with jewels. They wave the branched candlestick, however, in the evening. The Shrâwuks, and particularly the women of that faith, carry with them, when they go to worship, a handsome bag containing rice. Near the idol is set a box, with a hole in the lid, into which they drop the rice, and which every eight or ten days is opened that its contents may be thrown to the pigeons, or otherwise disposed of, before life is generated in them. Some persons drop money into the box, and it appears probable that this

'without leaves or branches of the misletoe; and before they entered 'the circle to offer, they made a tour about it sunways; and the like 'they did when they had done offering.

'The tour about the circle is called *Deas-soil*, from *Deas* the south, 'and *soil*, the sun, q. d. South about with the sun. I have often seen 'at marriages, and churchings of women, and burials, such a tour made 'about the church. This ceremony was not confined to the Druids; 'we find it at the funeral pile of Pallas; Virgil. Æ: Lib. xi. 188–190.

Ter circum accensos cincti fulgentibus armis
Decurrere rogos; ter mæstum funeris ignem
Lustravere in equis; ululatusque ore dedere.'

Lachlan Shaw's *History of Moray*.

was the original practice—the box retaining the name of 'Bhundâr,' or treasury.

The Hindoos in Goozerat divide the year into three seasons, the *Sheeâloo* or cold season, the *Oonhâloo* or hot season, and the *Chomâsoo* or monsoon. The first of these includes the months of Kârteek, Mâgsheer, Posh, and Mâgh; the second those of Phâlgoon, Chyetra, Wyeshâk, and Jeth; and the third those of Âshâd, Shrâwun, Bhâdrapud, and Âsho. Each month is again divided into *Shood* and *Wud*, in the former of which there are moonlight nights.[1]

The first festival which we shall have to notice occupies the three last days of the month of Âsho. The thirteenth of the dark half of this month is called '*Dhun Terush*.'[2] In the morning, after ablutions, the Hindoos having carefully cleansed a few silver coins, and placed them on a table, worship them, anointing them with a preparation of turmeric, placing before them flowers and fragrant colored powders, with incense and lamps, and performing the other acts of worship. At the same

[1] The corresponding English months may be thus (roughly) stated;—

Sheeâloo ..	Kârteek . . .	=	November.
	Mâgsheer. . .	=	December.
	Posh . . .	=	January.
	Mâgh . . .	=	February.
Oonhâloo ..	Phâlgoon. . .	=	March.
	Chyetra . . .	=	April.
	Wyeshâk. . .	=	May.
	Jeth . . .	=	June.
Chomâsoo ..	Âshâd . . .	=	July.
	Shrâwun. . .	=	August.
	Bhâdrapud . .	=	September.
	Âsho . . .	=	October.

[The month is divided into two fortnights, *Kṛishṇa paksha* (*vadya paksha*), the dark fortnight, when the moon is waning, and *śukla paksha* (*śudda paksha*), the bright fortnight, when the moon is waxing. Dates are reckoned by the day of the fortnight of each month, e. g. the 5th of the *śukla paksha* of Āśvin. According to the *Pūrṇimāntā* method of reckoning, followed in Northern India and the Deccan, the month ends at full moon; according to the *Amânta* system, prevalent in Southern India, the month ends at *amāvāsya*, or new moon. See Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, p. 192.]

[2] [*Dhana Trayodaśī*, the 13th day of wealth.]

time shepherds, cowherds, and others who are similarly employed, adorn the animals which they tend, and worship them. Fishermen in like manner color and worship their nets.[1] Their duties are performed fasting; on their conclusion each household holds a private festival. In the evening the people of the town or village assemble outside the gate to see the cowherds drive their flocks and cattle in from the fields at full gallop. On their return into the village they illuminate their houses. The next day, which is called *Kâlee Choudush*, is dedicated to the worship of Hunoomân, and the night is the favorite time for the practice of magical rites. The illumination is repeated this night also, but is far more brilliant and general on the succeeding evening, which is called from the lines of lamps which are then exhibited, 'the Deewâlee.'[2]

On the first day of the month of Kârteek, which is also the first of the year, the Hindoos build before the Devs an Unnkoot, or storehouse of every kind of food. It was the practice of old to worship Indra upon this day, but Shree Krishn, during his incarnation, caused the mountain King Gowurdhun, to be substituted for the Sovereign of Paradise,[3] and the Hindoos of the present day therefore erect a model of Gowurdhun mountain, which they worship, and upon which they place a flag, a few sprigs of trees, and some flowers. The trading classes open new account books on this day, and worship them under the name of 'Suruswutee,' with all the sixteen acts, excepting that of bathing. They sprinkle the first leaf

[1] 'Therefore they sacrifice unto their net, and burn incense unto 'their drag; because by them their portion is fat, and their meat 'plenteous.'—*Vide Habakkuk*, i. 16. To which the author of the *Christian Year* refers in the following lines:—

To our own nets ne'er bow we down,
Lest, on the eternal shore,
The Angels, while our draught they own,
Reject us evermore.

[2] Deep or Deev, a lamp, and Alee, a line. [Dīvāli extends from the 14th of the dark half of Āśvin to the 2nd of the bright half of Kārtika. The first of Kārtika is New Year's day according to the Vikrama Samvat. New account books are opened and worshipped.]

[3] The story may be found at length in the Prem Sâgur, chapters 25 to 28, *vide* translation of that work by Professor Eastwick.—London: James Madden, 8, Leadenhall-Street.—1851.

with the red preparation of turmeric, and head it in some such fashion as the following, making a few fictitious entries for good luck, of articles used on festive occasions,—

'Praise to Shree Gunesh! Shree Sârdâjee[1] is true! Praise 'to the floods of the jewel-treasury—the ocean! Shree Um- 'bâjee mother is true! Shree Boucherâjee is true!

'In the year of Vikrum, 1908, on the first day of the light 'half of the month Kârteek, being Saturday, in Shree Bhow- 'nugger, the chief, Shree Veejye Singh, is ruling; his heir 'apparent is the Prince Shree Dâjee Râj, and Desâee Sooruj- 'râm is the minister. This book is the account book of the 'present writer, Shâ Moteechund Soorchund.'

Dr.	*Cr.*
Turmeric, ½ seer.	Turmeric, ½ seer.
Sugar, 1 seer.	Sugar, 1 seer.
Betel, ¼ seer.	Betel, ¼ seer.
Nutmegs, 7.	Nutmegs, 7.

The third day of the month of Wyeshâk, which, in the language of Goozerat, is called Ukhâturee,[2] is supposed to be the day on which the storms of the monsoon commence, and the sea becomes unfit for navigation. It is the great day of omens. The Hindoos, on the evening of the 2nd, make, outside the villages, model towns built of corn, and stored with little heaps of various grains. They place therein, also, a copper coin to represent the raja, betel-nut to stand for the minister, a little cotton, some sugar, and other articles. On the morning of the 3rd, the villagers examine the model. If the ants have interfered much with any kind of grain during the night time, the people think that the grain will be scarce during the ensuing year. In whatever direction the cotton has been removed, there, they believe, cotton will be in demand that season, and they conclude that the raja or minister will prosper or suffer misfortune, accordingly as the

[1] Suruswutee.

[2] [*Akśa tritīya.* Akśa is the axle of the chariot-wheel of the Sun, which is worshipped on that day. But the proper form of the word is *akshaya tritīya* 'the undecaying third', which, under the form Akhtij, marks the beginning of the agricultural year in northern India (Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, ii. 287 ff.).]

money or the betel-nut has been carried away or allowed to remain unmolested. This custom is said to be still more prevalent in Marwar than it is in Goozerat. Of omens, Krishnâjee, the author of Rutun-mâlâ, has left us a very full enumeration. The following are the inauspicious omens which an army encountered on its way to a field of battle, where it was defeated :—

'First, as they went, a man sneezed when he met them, 'a dog howled—an omen not good, a cat passed them on the 'right hand, a donkey brayed, and a kite cried terribly. 'Meeting them, came a widow and a Sunyâsee, a Brahmin 'without a teeluk on his forehead, a person dressed in mourn-'ing garments, one who carried a plate of flour, and a woman 'with her hair dishevelled.' On another occasion, however, the same army rejoiced in a string of good omens :—'They 'met a learned Brahmin, book in hand ; they met a married 'woman with her son who had gone out to fetch water ; they 'met a horseman, a Kshutree, with his arms ; they met 'a gardener who carried a vase of flowers ; they met a cow 'with her calf, the cow adorned with red ointment and with garlands.' [1]

'In a certain village, on the morning of Ukhâturee,' says a modern Goozeratee author, 'five men went outside the gate 'to take omens. Having listened to the noise of the jackals 'and other animals, they turned to proceed homewards. As 'they went, one man stopped, and sat down, and the other 'four stood waiting for him. At this time they heard a culti-'vator's wife ask her husband whether he thought they would 'be obliged to purchase a bullock that year or not. The

[1] 'Sneezing,' says Brand, 'has been held ominous from times of the 'most remote antiquity.' Eustathius upon Homer has long ago observed that sneezing to the left was unlucky, but that to the right prosperous. The custom of blessing persons when they sneeze has, without doubt, been derived to the Christian world, where it generally prevails, from the time of heathenism.

The same author remarks that the howling of a dog by night, in a neighbourhood, is the presage of death to any that are sick in it ; also that omens were drawn from the coming in and going out of strange cats. The omens known in Goozerat may, in short, be paralleled in England and many other countries, which did (or do still) boast of an exclusive civilization.

'cultivator said, "There is no fear of those four that are on 'their legs, but I have little hope of the one that cannot 'stand; it will die this year without a doubt." The man 'who sat, hearing this omen, was fully persuaded in his mind 'that he would not survive the year. I heard, too, that he 'fretted himself to such an extent, that he really did die 'within the time allotted.

'A ringdove sat upon the roof of an old Koonbee woman's 'house. She, hearing it cooing, began to weep and beat her 'breast. A Brahmin, having come there at the time, the old 'woman said to him, "O Muhârâj, this cursed pigeon is 'after me again. It has carried off already my husband, 'my two sons, and my daughter, and now it has come for 'me, and sits every day on the top of my house, crying." 'The Brahmin gave her some charmed pebbles, with which 'she pelted the pigeon every day for seven days as often as it 'came. After that it returned no longer. The old woman 'thereupon reverenced the Brahmin as if he had been the 'Supreme Being.

'In Goozerat, if a pigeon or an owl sit on a housetop con-'stantly, people believe that the death of some one of the 'inhabitants of the house will follow. If, also, a crow [1] alight

[1] The owl and crow have always been held to be birds of ill omen—*vide* Brand's *Popular Antiquities*, where the following, among other examples, are quoted :—

When screech owls croak upon the chimney tops,
It's certain then you of a corse shall hear.
Reed's Old Plays, vi. 257.

The boding raven on her cottage sat,
And, with horse croakings, warn'd us of our fate.
Gay's Pastorals.

The owl shriek'd at thy birth, an evil sign;
The night-crow cried, aboding luckless time;
Dogs howl'd, and hideous tempests shook down trees;
The raven rook'd her on the chimney's top,
And chattering pies in dismal discord sung.
Third Part of King Henry VI, Act V, sc. 6.

The boatmen on the Indus will not suffer a crow to alight on their vessels, and consider it to be extremely unlucky. In Sweden the magpie, like others of the raven or crow family, is a mystic bird, a downright witches' bird, belonging to the devil and the other hidden powers of

'upon a man, or a spider fall upon him, they believe that his 'life will be shortened. To prevent this calamity, the man 'strips off the clothes he wore at the time the accident 'happened, gives them to Brahmins, and goes away to per-'form ablution. If such a thing happen to a raja, he performs 'sacrifice by fire. Whenever many meteors fall from the 'sky, or the earth quakes, or wild animals enter a village, or 'any other portent occurs, people have recourse to a section of 'the Sâm Ved, in which remedies are prescribed which rajas 'ought to adopt. If the raja neglect this duty, people believe 'that great injury will be occasioned to the country over 'which he rules. However, things happen as they are dis-'posed, be the remedy taken or neglected.'

Bânâsoor and his queen, says the 'Rape of Okâ,' one of the most popular poems in the language of Goozerat, were seated, in the early morning, at a window of their palace of Shoneetpoor, on the coast of the ocean, when an outcaste, who came thither to sweep the road, beheld them, and averted his face from the evil omen. The king and queen called him to them, and demanded the cause of his behaviour. He said, at first, that being of so low a caste he was afraid that if he showed his face to them he should be put to death, but, on being pressed to tell the truth and assured of pardon, he confessed that he had averted his face from them because they were childless persons, and to behold them at that hour was ominous of misfortune. The Rânee was very much distressed, and wept bitterly. She said that her palace, without a child's cradle in it, seemed to her like a Gosâee's monastery or a funeral ground, and she entreated her husband to procure the

night. When the witches, on Walpurgis night, ride to the Blokulle, they turn themselves into magpies. When these birds are moulting in summer, and become bald about the neck, the country people say they have been to the Blokulle, and helped the evil one to get in his hay, and that the yoke has rubbed their feathers off. In Denmark the crow is a bird of omen, but not necessarily of ill omen. Olaf Tryggvason, although a Christian, observed whether a crow stood on its right or left foot, and predicted good or evil accordingly, whence his enemies nicknamed him *krakâbein* (crow-leg). In North Germany it is believed that if ravens fly over a house, making a great croaking, a person will soon die in it.

boon from Shiva. Bânâsoor repaired to Kyelâs and devoted himself to austerities of so great severity that Shiva was driven to seek the advice of Pârwutee as to the means of satisfying this importunate worshipper. The goddess possessed herself but two children, Gunesh and Okâ, and she refused to surrender either. With much entreaty, however, Shiva extorted from her a consent to relinquish Okâ, whom he conveyed, accordingly, to the suppliant monarch, to be brought up as his own daughter.

Bânâsoor some time afterwards having procured great strength from Shiva, became so inflated with pride as to challenge that deity himself to the combat. Shiva cursed him for his arrogance, and predicted that his strength should be reft from him by the grandfather of Okâ's future husband. The king now thought of putting Okâ to death, but, at the suggestion of a counsellor, altered his determination to that of keeping her unmarried. He built a tower by the sea-side, to which he left no means of access, and there he placed Okâ and her maiden confidante, setting a guard around the tower, and ordering that its inmates should be supplied only with such food as they should themselves draw up in a basket by a rope. Okâ, however, from her place of confinement, addressed her prayers for a husband to her mother Pârwutee, or Gowree. She repeated her petitions thrice, and the goddess then made answer that she should marry three husbands. Okâ now prayed that she might not be subjected to the calamity of becoming twice a widow, and Gowrée answered, that she should marry once in a dream, a second time in private, and a third time publicly, but that her husband should be one and the same. She married, accordingly, Uneeroodh, the son of Prudyoomnâ, the son of Krishn, and that divinity (though Shiva fought for him) reft his strength from Bânâsoor.

Such, according to the popular version, was the origin of the festival called 'the Worship of Gowree', which is held on the twelfth day of the light half of Âshâd, the first month of the monsoon season. In preparation for this day, little girls, between the ages of five and ten years, form an earthen image of Gowree, and dress it up in clothes. On either side, they set a vessel full of earth in which they have sown wheat and

jowâree. The morning of the twelfth, as soon as they get up, they go to the river side to bathe. Returning from thence, they proceed to some place where all the female children of the village or quarter of the town are assembling, and thence the whole proceed together, singing songs in praise of either their deity, Shree Krishn, or their temporal master, the lord of the village, to the house of some Brahmin, to whose care the image of Gowree has been entrusted. They now worship the goddess with the sixteen prescribed ceremonials, making her presents which fall as perquisites to the Brahmin. The mothers, or elder sisters of the girls, at this time prompt them to ask a boon of the goddess, and the children, one after the other, say, 'Gor! Mâ! grant me a good bridegroom.' From the Brahmin's house they return home, worshipping on their way a sacred basil tree, a cow, a well, and, lastly, the threshold of their father's house. The votaries of Gowree are bound by a vow to eat once only during the day, but this rule they comply with in form alone. At four in the afternoon the little girls are again assembled, decked out, each of them, in as brilliant a manner as the means of their parents permit, and they now set forth to worship all the Devs, one after the other. The day is generally concluded by these juvenile holiday-makers at the village tank, beside which they romp until bed-time. One of their great amusements is to strut about in procession, beating their breasts, as female mourners do at a funeral, and crying out, 'Alas! Dedâ, alas! alas!' Or, perhaps, for the obnoxious Dedâ, they substitute a chief with whom theirs is at enmity, or some other unpopular person.

Betrothed girls receive, at the time of this festival, presents of clothes and other articles from the house of their intended bridegroom.

There is a verse in common use among the women of Goozerat, to the effect that if rain do not fall in the first five days of Shrâwun, a famine will ensue :—

> If in the first five days of Shrâwun,
> The cloud-king do not begin to scatter his drops,
> Husband, do you go to Malwa,
> I shall go home to my father's house.

When the fall of rain is long delayed the Hindoos think that

Indra wishes to lay waste their town or village, and to deprecate his wrath by submission, they quit the place in a body for the day, leaving it ' oojud ', or waste, and cook their dinner outside. This is called an ' Oojânee '. In the territories of native chiefs, the raja issues proclamation by beat of drum, the day before the Oojânee is to take place, that a fine will be imposed upon any person who presumes to light a fire within the town.

Another mode of inducing the rain to fall, is to send for one of the persons called Bhoowos, who are supposed to be inspired by a local Devee. The man arrives, and, after certain preliminaries, begins to counterfeit inspiration. The Hindoos then address him as the goddess and say, ' Mâtâjee, why is it ' that the rain does not fall ? ' The Bhoowo, flinging his limbs about, and rolling his eyes, makes answer, ' Why should it fall ? ' you make me no offerings.' ' We were wrong, Mâtâjee ! ' they say, ' we are your children, we will bring offerings whenever you please.' He then orders them to present certain kinds of food, which he describes, on the next day which is sacred to the Devee. The offerings must be put in broken earthen vessels, which represent the human skulls out of which the Yogeenee delights to eat ; they must be carried outside the eastern door of the city, and then set down in a circle which has been previously sprinkled with water. As each householder has to present an offering, the number of the vessels which are thus set down is sometimes very large. The dogs, or the Dhers,[1] eat the food, and if the rain fall it is believed that the Devee has sent it.

The following is another mode of inducing a fall of rain. The outlet by which water passes off from the basin that the symbol of Shiva is set in must be closed up, and libations made until the ling is immersed. This process should be repeated for eight days, unless rain fall in the meantime.

Koonbee and Bheel women sometimes parade the streets on

[1] [The Ḍheḍ or Ḍheṛ are one of the ' depressed ' castes in Gujarāt. 'The position of the Dhedas of northern and southern Gujarāt vary considerably.' In Ahmadābād they are private rather than public servants, while south of the Narbada the case is the reverse. For a full account of the caste see *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix, part i, 338 ff.]

these occasions, singing songs addressed to the goddess of the rain :—

The cultivator has abandoned the plough, O Meyhoolâ,
In pity to him do thou rain, therefore, O Meyhoolâ,
The good man has packed off the good woman home, O Meyhoolâ,
Separated from her are her little children, O Meyhoolâ,
The stream is dry in the river's-bed, O Meyhoolâ.

. . . . . .

A boy accompanies the singers, bearing on his head a basket containing mould, with three sprigs of the limb tree [1] stuck in it. When the party approaches a Hindoo house, the women come forth and pour water over the sprigs, so that the boy is drenched through ; they make presents of grain at the same time to the women who form the procession.

On the fifth of the second half of the month of Shrâwun [2] the people of Goozerat prepare a white surface on some wall in the interior of their houses, upon which they paint in black a rude picture of the house of Shesh Nâg, the snake-supporter of the universe. They worship this figure with all the prescribed forms, and address the snake-king, saying, 'Sire ! be propitious 'to me,' in the hope of securing his favor for the ensuing year. This is the day upon which, according to Hindoo practice, the royal yearly grants ought to be paid. The festival is called '*Nâg Punchmee*'.

The next day is entitled '*Rândun Chut*', or 'Cooking Sixth', and is devoted to the preparation of food for the seventh, the day dedicated to Seetulâ Devee, or the small-pox. The goddess is supposed to wander about on that day among the ovens of the householders, on which account no fire must be lighted there for fear of annoying her. The following account of Seetulâ Devee is from the modern author we have already quoted :—

'In the course of the present year, the daughter of a neigh-'bour of mine, who was four years old, fell sick of small-pox. 'When the disease appeared, as the parents were old and had 'but one daughter and two sons, they were very much alarmed 'that they should lose their favorite. They brought her bed

[1] [This is Forbes' name for the Neem tree (*Azadirachta Indica*).]
[2] [*Nāg Pañchamī* is in the *bright* half of *Śrâvan*.]

'into the house, put a screen before it, with branches of the 'limb tree, and having mixed ass's dung and cow's urine 'with limb leaves, put this into an earthen vessel, into which 'each of them, as they had occasion to return into the house, 'dipped their feet, so as to moisten the big toe of the right 'foot. If neighbour or relation or other visitor came, the same 'purification had to be gone through. The reason was this, 'that whoever attends a person who is sick with small-pox 'must not allow the shadow of another person to fall upon 'himself; but if he dips his foot as described the ill effect is 'avoided. The shadow of a woman at the time of menstrua-'tion, or of one cohabiting with her husband, is also injurious—'as is that of a man who is newly bathed.[1] What objection 'there can be to this last, I do not understand. Each person 'belonging to the house keeps beside him a bunch of limb 'leaves, to avert the ill effect produced by the shadow of an 'unclean person falling on him. All these precautions had 'been duly observed by my neighbours. As the days went on 'the disease also increased. A learned Brahmin was then 'called in, who read the "Seetulâ Stotra", which is contained 'in the "Roodrayâmul". It consists of praises of Seetulâ, 'among which are these:—that she is naked, seated on a 'donkey, wearing a broken winnowing fan on her head, with the 'pad of a water vessel in one hand and a besom in the other, and 'that she is of the Chundâl caste. At the end of such equivocal 'praises as these, the book continues,—"O! great Devee! you 'are the mother of the world; Brumhâ, Vishnoo, Muhâ Dev, 'Indra, and the other gods, worship you continually. I 'therefore entreat you to heal this child." Such praises they 'caused to be read, and, to please Seetulâ, they fed a donkey 'with grass and cakes of wheat. Notwithstanding all this, the 'disease went on increasing. They now had recourse to vows, 'and promised that if the child recovered, they would give 'its weight in coarse sugar to Brahmins, and also the same 'weight of dates. Every hour they made some new vow or 'other;—as, for instance, that they would take the child to

[1] [Bathing being a mode of removing tabu, probably it is believed that a certain time must elapse before the pollution is completely dispersed.]

'Boucherâjee's;[1] would feed twenty-five Brahmins at the 'temple of that Devee, and would shave off the hair of the 'child's head there. The mother took a vow that she would 'not wear a bodice until the sick child had worshipped at 'Buleeâ Devee's, and that she would go thither carrying a 'lighted brazier on her head and a shoe in her mouth, which 'latter should be smeared with human ordure. She vowed, 'also, to offer a pair of silver eyes, a sheet of paper, and two 'rupees' weight of sugar, with grapes and other cooling things. 'She promised, too, a vessel of cold water. The father vowed 'to wear no turban until the child should have worshipped 'Buleeâ, and to perform the distance of the last four fields in 'a series of somersets. The woman suggested that as he was 'not well he should reduce the distance to two fields; but the 'father declared himself willing to undergo the annoyance if 'only his daughter might recover. A whole day they went 'on vowing one vow after another to Dev after Dev; but the 'child did not get well. Then father and mother, both of them, 'began to weep. The visitors tried to encourage them and 'told them to place confidence in Buleeâ. The mother 'answered, "Die and be wailed, Buleeâ! You were my 'enemy in former birth! Murderess! you are come to take 'my girl's life." The standers-by said, "Bâee! you should 'not speak so! As the raja frightens his ministers when he 'wants to force their spoils from them, so Buleeâ is frighten-'ing you that you may worship her the more. Do not be 'alarmed. Some of the children in your house have been 'wittingly or unwittingly deriding Buleeâ. You must ask 'pardon." They then repeated a mode of asking pardon, 'which I am almost ashamed to write. It is this:—"O Buleeâ! 'if at any time wittingly or unwittingly I have derided you, 'pardon me. I have committed a fault. I have done wrong. 'I have eaten your dung. Be merciful and preserve my 'daughter!" Notwithstanding that the woman said this, the 'girl died. Then, abusing Buleeâ very much, the mother 'beat her breast, crying, "Ah murderess! Ah sinner!" Such 'was her wail. She also, with the other women, wept,

[1] [Bahucharāji, a deified Chāran woman, slain in an attack by the Kolis. See the story in *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix, part i, 216 and p. 429, *infra*.]

'continually crying out against Buleeâ. A month afterwards 'the same woman's son was attacked with small-pox. Then 'she betook herself to vows as before. The boy recovered, and 'she performed the vows she had undertaken.'

Succeeding 'Seetulâ's seventh', is the 'Birth-day eighth',[1] the natal day of Shree Krishn. This is a day of fast. The birth of the god is supposed to take place at midnight, on the eighth; and wherever a temple of Krishn exists they perform during that night all the ceremonies usual on the birth of a royal infant. The image of Bâl Krishn is rocked in a cradle; music sounds before him; and gifts are liberally bestowed. At the supposed hour of birth the temple is crowded with worshippers.

The fifteenth of the light half of the month of Shrâwun[2] is called *Bulev*, or Bulee's day,[3] being the anniversary of the contest between the raja of that name and Vishnoo, in the incarnate form of Wâmun. Brahmins upon this festival proceed to the river side, where they worship the Shâlagrâm stone as an emblem of Vishnoo, and perform the rite called 'Bodily 'purification', which will afterwards be described, for the cleansing of all sins committed during the year, as well as of impurities contracted from the touch of Shoodras, or other unclean persons. They next worship the seven sages, the ancestors of the Brahminical race, and Uroondhutee[4] their consort, to represent whom they make eight figures of sacrificial grass. At this time, also, they change for a new one the junoee, or cord worn by the regenerate classes, which they have used during the year. The new cord has been constructed during the preceding month or two, by themselves or by other Brahmins, and precautions have been taken to make it of great strength. Some Brahmins, who affect much strictness

[1] [The Janamāshṭamī, 'eighth day of the birth' of Krishna, is held on 8th dark half of the month Bhādon.]

[2] [This is also *Nārali Pūrṇima* or coconut day, when the monsoon ends and merchants expecting ships throw coconuts into the sea.]

[3] [Bali Rājā, a mythical king to whom Vishṇu in his Dwarf Incarnation gave the kingdom of Indra. He afterwards took it away, and this is celebrated at Dīvāli.]

[4] [Arundhatī, the wife of the Ṛishi Vaśishṭa, and a star near the 6th in Ursa Major (*Saptarshi*, the seven Ṛishis). Cf. p. 231, note 2.]

in ritual observances, grow the cotton which is required to form the cord in a pot within their own houses. The Brahmins touch the grass figures with their new cords and put them on. They then break the old cords and throw them into the river. Next they take some sacrificial grass and the new cord into their hands, and make libations of water ; after which they recite ' the sages' genealogy ', and then either cast the grass figures into the river or carry them home to use them as objects of worship during the year. Libations are made at this time with the view of presenting to the sages (who are supposed to transmit them to the gods) ' first-fruits ', or offerings of the new water of the river which has fallen from the autumnal clouds.

The preceptor of the Brahmins now binds upon their arms a red or yellow bracelet, made of silk or cotton, with artificial pearls, called *Râkhudee*, which is said to have been originally employed as an amulet against a disease which used to be prevalent at this time of the year. The Brahmins return into the city or village, and bind similar bracelets upon the wrists of their disciples and friends.

The fourth of the light half of Bhâdrapud is called ' Gunesh fourth,'[1] being the birth-day of that divinity. An earthen image of Gunesh, dressed in costly clothes, is worshipped every day from this day until the eleventh, particularly with offerings of sumptuous food, in which the Dev is considered to take especial delight. On the eleventh the image is carried out in great noise and pomp to the river side. A Brahmin, bearing the image with him, walks into the water until he is nearly out ot depth, and then drops it into the stream, and swims to the bank. The rest of the company, who have meanwhile stood or sat at the river side watching the proceedings, remain silent for a few minutes. They then rise, the banners and scarlet umbrellas are again elevated, muskets are fired, the cavaliers cause their horses to curvet and prance, the elephants swing along at their

[1] [The Gaṇeśa Chaturthī. For the observances in Bengal see B. A. Gupte, *Hindu Holidays and Ceremonials*, 2nd ed., 54 f. The throwing of stones and abuse at this festival are a means of dispersing the influence of dangerous spirits and of the Evil Eye (Crooke, *Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, i. 26 f.).]

swift but heavy-seeming trot, the bells suspended from them sounding as they go, and the whole procession retraces its steps into the town.

On the birth-day of Gunesh the poorer class prepare a sweet cake, which the Dev is represented as holding in his hand, and of which he is considered to be particularly fond, and, first offering it to himself, break it in pieces, and throw it behind the grain jars and heavy boxes, of which there are always plenty in their houses. The intention is to supply a feast for the rats and mice, which there abound, and which are esteemed to be the attendants of Gunesh.

It is a popular superstition that to behold the moon on the night of 'Gunesh fourth' is unlucky, and that whoever does so is sure to get into some disgrace in the course of the year. The evil may, however, be averted by incessant reiteration of a sacred stanza. Some persons take the precaution of shutting themselves up in their houses, and closing all the windows: others who, for whatever reason, have been compelled to go out of doors and to see the moon, throw stones at a neighbour's door or upon his roof, in order that he may abuse them, and that this harmless fulfilment of the ominous prediction may avert more serious consequences.

The day which follows the 'Gunesh fourth' is called the 'Sage's fifth.'[1] On this day the people of Goozerat, in commemoration of the sages who are supposed to have lived upon uncultivated grain, use only such vegetable food as springs up spontaneously.

Many of the Jains observe a two-months' fast, which is called 'the Pujoosun,' during the monsoon, supposing that greater production of life than is usual then takes place. The fast is one of great severity when strictly observed. Shrâwuks should abstain from ablutions, and from every species of purification, and should take no sustenance but water, which has been boiled and allowed to cool. The greater number of the Jains fast for a certain number of days, and every one is expected to observe at least the last day of the Pujoosun, which falls on the same day as the 'Sage's fifth.' At the close of

[1] [*Rishi Pañchamî.*]

the fast the Shrâwuks go round to visit all their friends, a custom derived (as they say) from the necessity of inquiring what persons had perished in consequence of the severity of the fasting which they had undergone. Each Shrâwuk, as he enters his friend's house, takes hold of him by both hands, and repeats the following sacred stanza :—

'Twelve months, twenty-four half months, forty-eight and 'four weeks—if during this time I may have said or done 'anything annoying to you, pardon me!'

The ascetics of the Jain religion, and particularly those of the Doondeeâ[1] sect, take at this time occasionally a vow called 'sunthâro,' which pledges them to produce their death by abstaining from food. As soon as a juttee has taken this vow,

[1] The Doondeeâ sect did not arise, it is said, before Sumwut 1700 (A. D. 1644). The word Doondeeâ means 'searcher,' and is assumed by these sectaries on the ground of their being reformers of the Jain religion. Their adversaries, the Tupâ sect, however, derive the word from 'doond,' a husk; and pronounce the Doondeeâs to be the husks of the Shrâwuk grain. The Doondeeâs neither use temples nor worship idols. They abstain from ablutions with the idea of avoiding the destruction of life, and will drink no water but what has been boiled. The Doondeeâ ascetic is a disgusting object. He retains no property, even the convent in which he lives belonging to his followers. He quits his dwelling only for the purpose of procuring food. He carries a fan of goat's hair in his hand, which he employs in removing anything possessing life from the path on which he treads or the ground on which he sits. He wears a screen of cloth, called a moomutee, tied over his mouth, lest he should inhale insects to their destruction. His body and clothes are filthy in the last degree, and covered with vermin. [See *Bombay Gazetteer*, ix, part i, 105.]

About fifteen years ago the Doondeeâs and Tupâs came into violent collision at Goondul, in Kâteewăr, where there is a great Shrâwuk temple; and the former, gaining the mastery, destroyed the idols. A similar contest afterwards occurred at Wânkâner, when relations were arrayed against each other in arms. The followers of the Jhâla chieftain interfering to put down the disturbance were furiously attacked by both parties.

The Tupâs, in the province of Kutch, finding themselves in danger of being supplanted by the Doondeâs, broke up the Shrâwuks into two castes. In the city of Ahmedabad it would seem that the Tupâs and Doondeeâs still eat together, but that they have ceased to intermarry. The greater asceticism of the latter sect has up to the present time gained them more followers than their rivals can secure, and a new and stricter sect, called the Shumbegee, has sprung up among the Tupâs themselves.

the news is carried to all parts of the country, and large numbers of Jains assemble to pay him worship. For fifteen days, it is said, the monk is sometimes able to maintain a sitting posture; after that time he lies along on the floor. The persons who surround him dab his feverish body with moist cloths, but are careful to prevent his receiving sustenance of any kind.

From the day on which the monk has taken the vow preparations are commenced for his funeral. A litter is constructed, and ornamented with colored paper and tinsel, upon which the juttee, when his last moments approach, is placed in a sitting posture. Music sounds before him as he is carried out in procession, and women who seek the blessing of a male child strive to secure it by creeping beneath his litter, or by joining in the scramble for fragments of his clothes.

The fourteenth of the light half of Bhâdrupud is called 'Ânund Choudush,' or the joyful fourteenth. The name is, however, originally derived from 'Ununt,' one of the titles of Shesh-Nâg, the supporter of the world. Vows for almost any purpose are made to Ununt. They must be kept for fourteen years; but the observance is not apparently very burdensome, consisting merely in wearing a bracelet of red string with fourteen knots in it, on the upper part of the right arm. Vishnoo must be worshipped at the time of taking the vow, and an offering must be presented to him of dishes, the names of which are of the masculine gender. The bracelet is changed every year, and on the termination of the fourteenth year the votary performs 'Oodyâpun,' a ceremony which releases him from the vow, and which consists in performing a fire-sacrifice, and making, of different grains, a mansion for Vishnoo, upon which he places fourteen copper cups containing cocoa-nuts. The Dev is invited into the mansion, and the usual acts of worship are performed. The votary who thus acquires his release presents to persons inclined to receive the vow fourteen bracelets. He also invites the family priest and his wife and presents to them, after having worshipped them, fourteen complete suits of clothes, under the title of 'Oomâ Muheshwur.'

'The Book of Ununt,' which professes to be a portion of one of the Poorâns, contains several stories, which relate how

Krishn recommended the vow to Yoodishteer and the other sons of Pândoo, pronouncing that he himself was Ununt; how a Brahmin's wife, in the golden age, procured wealth for her husband by observing the vow, which melted away on the ignorant removal by her lord of the mystic bracelet from her arm; how the repentant priest on discovering the cause of his misfortunes sought the protection of Ununt, and received from that deity, in addition to the gift of wealth, the promise of *religion* in the present life, and the heaven of Vishnoo in the life to come; and how many other strange and wonderful effects were produced by the worship of '*the Illimitable*,'[1] for the repetition of which we possess, however, too little space in the present volumes.

The Nowrâttra, or *Festival of Nine Nights*, occupying the period from the first to the ninth of the moonlight half of Âsho, is consecrated to the Family Goddess, or to Doorgâ, the consort of Shiva. On the first day of the feast the Hindoos having carefully whitened a sufficient surface of wall within their houses, paint upon it, with vermilion, the trident, which is the emblem of the goddess. In front of it they build a model of her dwelling, which, placed as it usually is on the mountain-top, amidst forests, or in other spots equally *difficult of access*,[2] is represented by a heap of earth sown with wheat and barley, and surmounted by a metal water-vessel, containing a cocoa-nut. The goddess is now, by the first of the sixteen acts of worship, 'invited' to occupy her temple. An earthen vessel, pierced with numerous holes, and containing a light, is placed near the trident, or perhaps in country places a tree, to which lamps are hung, is erected in some open spot in the village, round which the people walk or dance, clapping their hands and singing songs.[3] A lamp, fed with clarified butter, and placed upon a stand, is kept burning night and day before the goddess

[1] Shesh means the remnant of anything, as the unused paper of a manuscript book, and hence is applied also to the void remaining around and 'supporting' the world. This is also 'Nâg,' (motionless) and 'Ununt' (illimitable). Shesh-Nâg is further termed 'Bhoodhur' (supporter of the earth).

[2] Hence her name *Doorgâ*, which means 'difficult of access.'

[3] The lamp and the tree are called 'Gurbo,' 'Gurbee,' and hence the song is also called 'Gurbo.'

during the nine days of the Nowràttra, and a member of the family, who abstains from eating grain while so employed, watches continually to replenish the lamp, and to worship the sacred emblems. The family priest reads, during the nine days, 'the Book of Doorgâ,' which contains a description of the achievements of that goddess, and of the prescribed modes of her worship. On the eighth day fire-sacrifice is performed in each private house, and in the temples of the goddess. At the shrine of the Ârâsooree mother or at the temple of the Choonwâl Devee, Koolees and others at this and similar times offer animals in vicarious sacrifice to the goddess for their sick friends and children. On the ninth day the mound of earth, in which the wheat and barley has by this time sprouted, is raised from its position, and carried out to the side of a river or reservoir of water, to which pure element it is consigned, that it may not be subsequently defiled. The vessel which contained the lamp is placed at the same time in front of a Devee's image.

The Rajpoot chiefs and others, who claim the possession of Kshutreeya blood, offer sacrifices of animals at the Nowràttra in their private temples for the welfare of themselves and their followers during the year. With them the cannon is the most appropriate emblem of Doorgâ Devee, and they mark her trident therefore upon it, and raising before it the representation of her shrine, surround it with lamps.

The day immediately succeeding the ninth day of the Nowràttra is the 'Dussera,' or 'tenth day,' a festival which commemorates the entrance of the sons of Pândoo into Wyerât Nugger, as well as the destruction by Râm of the giant-king of Ceylon,—events celebrated in the two great epic-poems of the Hindoos. As Urjoon and his brothers worshipped the *Shumee* tree,[1] and hung up their arms upon it, so the Hindoos go forth to worship that tree on the festival of the Dussera. They address the tree under the name of Upurâjeetâ, the 'invincible goddess,' sprinkle it with five ambrosial liquids,[2] wash it with water, and hang garments upon it. They light

[1] '*Mimosa Suma.*'

[2] *Punchâmrit*, a mixture of milk, curds, sugar, clarified butter, and honey.

lamps and burn incense before the symbol of Upurâjeetâ, make *chândlos* upon the tree, sprinkle it with rose-coloured water, set offerings of food before it, and perform the ceremony of circumambulation, repeating as they walk the following stanzas :—

I.

Shumee pacifies for sins,
Shumee destroys enemies,
Shumee cures diseases,
Shumee procures success in every object.

II.

Holder of the bow of Urjoon !
Exhibitor of his heart's desire to Râm !
Restorer of life to Lukshmun !
Assuager of the grief of Seetâ !

Then, turning themselves round, they worship in succession the ten Dig-Pâls, or protectors of the ten points of Heaven, beginning with Indra, the Deity of the East, whom they thus address :—

In the East, whatever works I have,
To those works cause success :—

and proceeding similarly with the other nine. At this time the Hindoos break, and throw from them, the bracelet which they had assumed in the Bulev festival.

The Rajpoot chiefs, on the evening of the Dussera, worship also the *Fort-protectress*, the goddess Gudeychee. On their return from the Shumee worship into the city they join together in bands, brandishing their spears, gallopping their horses, and enacting in other ways the part of an army taking the field. Salutes of cannon are at the same time fired.

Many of the Hindoos, as they return home, take earth from the roots of the Shumee tree, a few of its leaves, some betel-nut, and a stalk of the wheat that has grown up around the model temple of Doorgâ. Of these articles they compound a ball, which they keep about them as an amulet, and carry with them if called upon to perform a journey. The piece of wheatstalk which remains they fix upright, as an ornament in their turbans.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VI

[Forbes's account of Hindu festivals is not exhaustive. They may be classified as mythological, including the birthdays (*jayanti*) of gods and heroes, as well as holidays in celebration of events recorded in the Epics and Purāṇas, and astronomical, marking the changes of the moon or of the seasons, eclipses, and other natural phenomena. To the former class belong *Rāmnavami*, Rāma's birthday, the 9th of Chaitra (March–April), *Janmāshtami*, Krishna's birthday, the 8th of the dark half of Shrāvan (July–August), *Ganeśachaturthi*, Ganeśa's birthday, the 4th of Bhādrapād (August–September), &c. Along with these may be classed the *Navarātra* sacred to Devī, the *Mahāśivarātra* (not mentioned by Forbes) sacred to Śiva, and occurring on the 13th of Māgh (January–February), and many others. To the latter class also belongs the celebrated festival of *Holi* (not mentioned by Forbes). This festival takes place on the full moon of Phālgun (March–April), and is a regular saturnalia among the lower orders; it represents the passing of the sun into the Vernal Equinox. The *Sankrānti* festivals mark the passage of the sun or planets from one sign of the Zodiac to another. The most celebrated are the *Makara Sankrānti* on January 12, the day of the transit of the sun at the Tropic of Capricorn.

The *Divāli* feast is one of the most important in Hindu life. It lasts from the 14th day of the second half of Āśvin to the 2nd of Kārtik. It is a syncretism of several feasts, the most important being those of the entrance of the sun into Libra, the seventh sign of the Zodiac, the coronation of Rāma, the death of the demon Narakāsura, and the deposition of Rājā Bali by Vishṇu. It is impossible, however, to enumerate all the feasts and fasts which make up the life of the Hindu, each with its appropriate *vrata* or ceremony. The eleventh day (*ekādaśi*) of each half month, and the dark night (*amāvāsya*) are fast days, the full moon day (*purṇima*) is a feast, and so forth.]

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGES

Marriage among the Hindoos in Goozerat can take place only between members of the same caste, and if that be permanently subdivided, as, for instance, into right and left hand, of the same subdivision of it. Brahmins refer back to a 'gotra,' a supposed ancestor of whose period they are not distinctly informed, and they do not permit alliances among his descendants.[1] Other Hindoos, maintaining the same rule, construe it less strictly, as they do not pretend to be possessed of information extending back to so remote a date as that of the Brahmins. The bard, called Wyewunchâ—the genealogist of the caste—can, however, usually trace back to about twenty descents; and the degrees within which marriage is prohibited are regulated by the information supposed to be in his possession. In addition to these rules there exists another, of less authority, but commanding, nevertheless, almost invariable acquiescence, which prescribes that the descendants of the brothers and sisters of a female ancestor within five descents, or of a step-mother within three descents, are not fit persons with whom to contract a marriage. It is further declared that a man may not marry the sister of the wife of his father's brother.

The different *Kools*, or families of the same caste, are not treated with equal consideration. One Kool assumes a

[1] [The Brahmanical rules about marriage are extremely complicated. The leading principle, however, is that there shall be identity of caste (endogamy) and difference of *gotra* (exogamy). *Gotra* has been explained p. 231, note 2. But each *gotra* contains exogamous sub-gotras named after more recent eponymous ancestors (*pravara*), Garga, Sandilya, Kausika, and Vatsya being the chief. A Brâhman cannot marry a *sapinda*, i. e. a relative on either side three generations upwards or downwards, or a woman of his mother's *gotra* if she is a *sapinda*. A woman may marry *above* her class only (hypergamy). On the Hindu customs of endogamy and exogamy see Sir H. Risley, *The People of India*, 2nd ed., 156 ff.]

superiority to another, founded usually upon benefits conferred on the caste generally by ancestors of the house. It is always an object of solicitude to the parents of a female child that they should procure her marriage with the scion of a more noble family. To wed her to a bridegroom of inferior rank is considered disgraceful, and it is this feeling which has so often urged the Rajpoot or even the Koonbee of Goozerat to practice the dreadful crime of infanticide.[1]

In the case of male children, parental anxiety, though scarcely less in amount, is different in the form which it assumes. Careful persons can avoid a large expenditure on occasions of obsequies, though few are so cautious, the usual

[1] 'The reasons why the higher castes of Rajpoots murder their girls 'are various. The chief inducement to this crime is the heavy expense 'to which their customs expose them on the occasion of a marriage of 'a daughter. These may be thus stated. On the conclusion of a match 'between the parents a sum of money is sent to the father of the youth 'by the father of the girl. This sum is not large, probably about the 'tenth of the amount of "Juheez," or dower. This is a sort of earnest 'money, and when the ceremony of "Tilluk" is completed the father 'of the girl cannot recede from the engagement.

'After this comes the "Luggun," when half of the dower agreed upon 'is paid, and the date for the nuptial procession, called the "Burat," 'is settled. The Burat, or chief marriage ceremony, to which all the 'relations and friends are invited, is the occasion of the most profuse 'expenditure in feasting them; the greater the multitude fed, the better 'satisfied is the pride and vanity of the father of the girl, who, at the 'same time, pays the remainder of the dower. This sum varies according 'to the rank of the parties, but is generally enough to throw the father 'into debt and difficulties. Unless a handsome sum be offered, a husband 'of good caste is not to be procured; and, unless the feasting be profuse, 'and the invitations to the marriage feast general, then the girl's parents 'are held up to public scorn, as stingy or poverty-stricken. This is the 'chief reason why the high caste and proud Thakors hate the idea of 'a daughter being born to them. Another reason is the blind pride 'which makes them hate that any man should call them Sala, or Sussoor '—brother-in-law, or father-in-law. This crime of infanticide is not 'confined to the Rajpoots; some tribes of the Aheers are equally 'guilty. We remember remonstrating with the heads of an Aheer 'village, who had ten girls to eighty boys living. They said, "Sir, it 'is all very well for Bunyas and such people to beget girls, but they 'are very seldom or ever born to men of our caste."'—*Article on the Landed Tenures in the North-West Provinces. Benares Magazine, for October*, 1850. [See Sir H, Risley, *The People of India*, 2nd ed., 171 ff.]

rule being that they incur debt for the purpose, but, prudent or imprudent, all are compelled to lavish sums altogether inconsistent with the means of the majority in marrying their sons, or, if their father be dead, their younger brothers. To be unmarried is contemptible, ignominious. The man who has not begotten a child, or who has lost his children, is despised as an eunuch; to meet him in the morning is an omen of misfortune; when he dies he becomes a miserable ghost, his spirit haunting his former abode, and enviously beholding the happy enjoyment by some other of those blessings which the curse of sonlessness has rendered nugatory to himself.

Some curious customs which obtain in particular castes may be worth alluding to in this place. The Kuruwâ Koonbees celebrate marriages only under a certain sidereal conjunction, which occurs about once in thirteen years, and hence it is asserted by others, though they themselves deny it, that their unborn children are often contracted in marriage on the chance of their being male and female.[1] A shepherd caste, called 'Bhurwâds,' fix upon a particular year, about once in ten years, for the celebration of their marriages, and they purchase from the Rajpoot chief, or other ruling power, a piece of ground upon which the hymeneal ceremonies are performed. This caste, also, finds itself compelled, for similar reasons, to contract children of the age of two or three months. The ground cannot be employed for marriage rites a second time, but it is retained henceforth in pasture, and never subjected to cultivation. Upon it the shepherds erect an ornamental wooden post, called a 'marriage pillar,' which is preserved as an indication of the purpose to which the ground has been applied.

The bridegroom is called 'wur,' and the bride 'kunyâ.' Proposals of marriage are symbolized by a cocoa-nut, which is sometimes richly studded with gems. They emanate from the house of lesser pretension, and the father of either bride or

[1] In the hills near Râj Muhâl, 'It is not uncommon for two neighbours 'to agree, when their respective wives are pregnant, that the offspring, 'in the event of their being a boy and a girl, shall be married to each 'other.'—Vide *Asiat. Res.* iv, p. 63. [The custom of betrothing unborn children, known as Adlā-badlā, 'interchange,' still prevails among many castes in northern India.]

bridegroom, who seeks to ally his child to the redder blood of a more distinguished Kool, must balance the scales with gold. If the families are considered to be on an equality, the father of the bride makes proposals, and money is not demanded on either side. When the bridegroom is of high rank, so that he is under no difficulty as regards providing himself with a wife, he has frequently many proposals made to him. The family priest, or a relation, is then sent to ascertain, by personal interview, that the young ladies are neither blind, lame, nor afflicted with other bodily defect, and that they are in every respect eligible. The priest (or gor), however, as it is said, invariably fills a purse for himself, and not unfrequently, to increase his gains, behaves treacherously to those who have employed him, by concealing the ladies' defects, or exaggerating their good qualities. There is a Hindoo saying, founded on the mendacity of the priest upon such occasions, which states that sufficient weight of sins to bear him down to hell is accumulated by a king in three months, by the head of a monastery in three days, but by a gor in three hours.

Acceptance of proposals of marriage is followed by a more binding betrothal. The relations of the contracting parties meet at the house of the bridegroom's father, who commences the ceremony by producing a tiny stone or metal image of Gunesh, which he washes with water, with milk, and again with water, in imitation of the washing with 'five ambrosial 'liquids,' prescribed by the Shâstras, and marks in the centre of the forehead with the chândlo. He worships the Dev, under his title of Vighun Râj, the smoother of difficult paths, and frequently repeats the following verse :—

> O! thou of the terrible face, thou of the large body,
> Splendid as ten million suns,
> Cause me to be free from obstacles, O Dev,
> In all works, at all times.

The bride's father now pays obeisance to his entertainer, marks his feet with a preparation, the red color of which is symbolical of prosperity, and offers him, in his joined hands, betel-nut, turmeric, and flowers, as an earnest that he has betrothed his daughter. He next places the royal teeluk on the forehead of the young bridegroom and presents him with

the cocoa-nut, which, if he cannot afford to adorn it with precious stones, he marks with a red spot, upon which he sets a silver coin. The family-priest repeats the names of the affianced parties, their parents and ancestors, and when he has exhausted his list pronounces that the ceremony is concluded. The women of the family, assisted by their neighbours, now chaunt an appropriate song, and entitle themselves to a much-prized dole of sugar and coriander.

The general rule is that betrothal cannot be set aside, but the practice of different castes varies. Among Rajpoots, if the betrothed bridegroom die, the girl who should have been his wife is treated as his widow, and considered incapable of entering into the married state. Some Brahmins, on the other hand, do not consider themselves bound by either betrothal or any other ceremony short of the actual joining of hands in marriage. In most castes a betrothed bride is not treated as a widow on the death of the affianced, and in many she may, with permission of the caste, marry another person even in his life-time, should he, before the marriage is concluded, become afflicted with any serious disease.

The Kuruwâ Koonbees, when they cannot procure a husband for their daughter, will sometimes marry her to a bunch of flowers. The next day they throw the flowers into a well, and the bridegroom thus disposed of, the widow is eligible for nâtrâ, or second marriage. A similar practice is that of marrying the girl to a person called 'a hand-husband.' This bridegroom may be any male of the caste who is willing to contract, beforehand, that he will receive a certain sum for a divorce and give his bride a release from her marriage the moment the ceremony has been performed. The wife so divorced may then marry in nâtrâ.

The object of these proceedings is the avoidance of expense. No money need be spent by the bride's father upon a nâtrâ marriage, except such as is required for entertaining the friends who accompany the bridegroom. The lady's trousseau is supplied by her husband. An unmarried woman cannot, however, be given in nâtrâ.

When the bride has attained the age of nine or ten years, an astrologer is called for to point out the day indicated by the

stars as propitious for the marriage. Seasons of family mourning are always carefully avoided. The day fixed, letters of invitation, termed kunkotree, are sprinkled with rose-colored water and forwarded to the kindred of both bridegroom and bride. They run in something like the following strain :—

'To the dweller at the auspicious Shree Ahmedabad, the 'great and excellent place of residence, to the worship-worthy 'treasury of all good qualities, the benefactor of others, the 'able administrator of affairs of state, the head-jewel of the 'clever, who knows the qualities of the fourteen sciences and 'is deserving of every epithet ;[1] Shetjee, Shree, five times 'repeated, Sâmuldâs Bechurdâs, and Shet Kurumchund 'Purumchund, may your lives be long ! Here from Shree 'Mhowâ the sea-port writes Shâ Âtmârâm Bhoodhurdâs. 'Receive his salutation of "victory to Gopâl !" (Krishn). 'Further, the following is the cause of writing :—All is well 'and prosperous here. Be pleased to write intelligence of your 'prosperity. Understand besides, that sister Kunkoo Bâee's 'marriage-day is appointed to be Wednesday, the 2nd of the 'dark half of Chyetra. Therefore do you, bringing the whole 'of your family with you, come speedily. By your coming 'the work will be adorned.'

Then follows the date. Sometimes, if previous invitations have not been treated with sufficient attention, the writer adds,—

'You were not able to attend brother Chugun's marriage, 'but if you fail to come on the present occasion, you and I will 'not be able to drink water together again. I say little but 'consider it much.'

About twenty days before the marriage, the houses of the parents are carefully cleansed, and adorned by the wealthy with strings of pearls or handsomely embroidered curtains, and by the poor with garlands of leaves. In front a temporary building, called mundup, is erected, which, in the case of poor persons, is merely a thatched hut, but where the higher classes are concerned, is frequently a very brilliant pantomime-like edifice, lined with mirrors and adorned with lamps, rich

[1] This expression being considered somewhat equivocal, it has of late been usual to insert the qualifying word 'good' before epithet.

curtains, soft carpets, and abundance of tinsel. Near one of the corners of the mundup a wooden post, called a 'jewel-'pillar,' is set up, adorned with flowers and other ornaments, and worshipped. Within the mundup the planets, Gunesh, Vighun Râj [1] and the progenitors are worshipped—the last-mentioned, in order that the household may not, as long as the ceremony lasts, be rendered unclean by the occurrence of a birth or death in the family.

A ceremony, called 'Gotruj,' is performed within the dwelling-house. A flat surface of wall having been whitened, a pyramid is made upon it of red spots, which increase from one at the apex to seven at the base. Below the base line other seven spots are made with clarified butter, which the heat causes gradually to trickle downwards. The figure, which represents a genealogical tree, becomes the subject of adoration.

The bridegroom, or (in her own house) the bride, is now adorned as splendidly as the resources of the family will permit. If a Rajpoot, the boy wears red silk drawers, which, like the rest of his attire, are embroidered with gold ; if a Brahmin or Wáneeo, a long white cloth, with a broad red silk border wrapped round the waist and tucked up between the legs ; over this he wears a red or yellow body-coat, a waistband and scarf of the same colors ; his turban must be red. The bride's father presents him with a yellow handkerchief called 'Ootu-'reeyâ.' The bride wears a white silk bodice and a red or yellow silk petticoat, and over these a very long white silk scarf, bordered and spotted with red, which is wrapped round the waist, and then passed over the shoulders and head, of which it forms the only ordinary covering. During her marriage festivities, however, the bride wears above the scarf a tri-angular head-dress, representing a crown, over which is thrown a large square red scarf, the substitute for a marriage veil. The bride and bridegroom wear each of them on the right wrist a bracelet made of beads, which they remove at the conclusion of the ceremony. Among the poorest classes of Hindoos, the children whose marriage is celebrating are

[1] [Vighneśvara, 'the Lord who removes obstacles,' is the popular title of Gaṇeśa in southern India (B. Ziegenbalg, *Genealogy of the South-Indian Gods* 59 ff.).]

invariably ornamented with, at the least, necklaces of alternate gold and coral beads, which are borrowed, or frequently even hired. The bridegroom now assumes the state and title of 'Wur Raja.' He is attended by companions of his own age,—'the children of the bridechamber,' and particularly by a friend who bears the title of 'Unwur,' and must be selected from among his juniors, in order that the bride, to whom he acts as accredited ambassador, may be able to receive him unveiled. He is also the bridegroom's purse-bearer, makes all his purchases, and presents certain marriage gifts, such as those called 'the brother-in-law's dagger,' and 'the priest's dress,' which are due at the conclusion of the ceremony.

At night, the bridegroom king publicly appears in his newly acquired royal state. Musicians head the procession—singers and dancing girls; following them come the bridegroom's relations, and visitors, mounted on horses or elephants, and surrounded by torch-bearers, cavaliers, and foot-men; guns are discharged, rose-colored powder is sprinkled on all sides, the horns scream their loudest, the kettle-drums make a deafening rattle, the flaring torches are rendered nearly invisible by the clouds of dust which rise into the air. Soon the bearers of the silver rods, in their scarlet coats, appear, and, following them, with royal umbrella borne above him and horse-hair fans waving on either side, the Wur Raja, mounted on his white and richly ornamented palfrey, sweeps gaily past, bearing in his hands the jewel-adorned cocoa-nut, the emblem of marriage-festival. Behind him follow the great camel drums, flaunting in their red drapery, and rolling forth a majestic sound, and troops of women, chaunting nuptial hymns, bring up the rear.

In these processions of the bridegroom-king is dimly recalled somewhat of the regal state of former days—of those pageantries which welcomed to Unhilpoor, Sidh Râj, the 'Victorious Lion,' from subjugated Malwa, or hailed the sainted Koomâr Pâl, and his train of white-robed priests returning from some desperate encounter of wits with the 'evil-disposed' servants of Shiva.

The friends of the bridegroom's family, as the procession

passes their houses, come forth, and present to him a cocoa-nut. Every other cavalcade, even that of the lord of the village, which meets the bridegroom's procession, makes way for it, and if two Wur Rajas meet, each gives up half the road to the other. Thus passing through the village the bridal train returns to the house from which it sets forth, where it is welcomed by the mother of the boy, who performs a ceremony called 'Nyoonchun,' in which she expresses by significant pantomime the worthlessness in her eyes of even the necessaries of life in comparison with her beloved child. Around his head she waves a cake of bread and then a cup of water, both of which she throws from her; she next takes in her hand the 'sum-pot,'[1] which is composed of two vessels full of rice, fastened together mouth to mouth, and expressing the idea of a hoard of any kind, and lays it at the feet of the Wur Raja. The boy, however, is not behindhand in his part of the drama,—he crushes the 'sumpot' indignantly with his foot, and hastens into the house to embrace his mother.

During the days which remain before that appointed for the marriage, the Wur Raja's procession moves forth evening by evening from the house of some hospitable relation, who has previously entertained with feasting the strangers who have been invited to the ceremony.

The proper time having arrived, the bridegroom is conveyed by his friends in similar state to the village in which the bride resides. He usually arrives there late in the day preceding that of the marriage, and halts outside. The father-in-law, attended by his male and female relations, with torch-bearers and music, goes forth at night to the bridegroom's camp, and conducts him from thence to the house which has been prepared for his reception within the village.[2] Over the door of

[1] Hindī and Marāṭhī, *sampat*, *sampatti*, 'success, prosperity, good fortune'.

[2] The procession of welcome is not confined to marriages, but is usual whenever a visitor of any importance arrives. See, for instances, the story of Jug Dev Purmár, vol. i, pp. 120, 148. It was common in feudal Europe also. The following is an example:—'Jacques de Cl ves vint à Eu le 19 août 1563. La noblesse alla à sa rencontre, à cheval, jusqu'à Criel, et, lorsqu'il fut arrivé au château, le maire lui présenta deux barriques d'excellent vin, qui avaient coûté dix écus.'—*History of Eu and Tréport.*

the bride's dwelling there is hung at this time a garland of leaves, which the Wur Raja, if of the warrior class, must break down with his lance, but which in other cases is allowed to remain until it drops from decay.

On the morning of the marriage day the bride is assisted at her toilet by her mother and her female relations, and is invested with her marriage bracelets, which are made of ivory, and coloured red. The bridegroom is also prepared by his friends, with the sound of music and song, and is conducted in state to the house of his affianced. There he is received by the mother of the bride, who performs the Nyoonchun ceremony. She marks the Wur Raja with the royal teeluk, waves round his head, and then throws from her, a bullock-yoke, a pestle, a churning stick, a spindle, the 'sumpot,' an arrow, a cake of flour and one of ashes, which last expresses her desire to throw dust in the eyes of his enemies.

When the Nyoonchun has been completed, the bridegroom takes his seat in the pavilion, called the 'Mundup,' and his father-in-law, after having washed his feet and marked the red spot upon his forehead, brings the bride forth, and places her at his side. In remembrance of the old rite of 'Gomed,'[1] or sacrifice of a cow, one of these animals is at the present time brought forth when the bridegroom takes his seat in the pavilion, and fastened beside it. Grass is thrown before the cow, and she is worshipped by the Wur Raja and his friends. A water hour-glass is placed beside the bridegroom to announce the fortunate hour, or sometimes that time is selected at which half of the disc of the setting sun has become obscured. The auspicious moment arrived, the father of the bride, taking her hand, places it in that of the Wur Raja, presenting him at the same time with a piece of the sacred basil, and saying, 'I give 'a Krishn gift.' After the father has joined their hands, the Gor hangs around the necks of the bride and bridegroom the 'Wur Málá,' or marriage garland, which is composed of twenty-four threads of red-cotton. At the same time the play-fellows of the bridegroom throw a red cloth over their joined hands, and under cover of it present them with betel-nut. The pair remain seated in the pavilion for about an hour.

[1] [Hindī and Marāṭhī, *gomedha*, 'the offering or sacrifice of a cow'.]

Outside the Mundup is formed the 'Choree,' or marriage hall. Nine metal or earthenware water-vessels are set up one above the other, at each of the four corners of a square, and are retained in this position by the support of bamboos. A fire-pit is made in the centre, and the bride and bridegroom are seated by its side. The priest performs fire-sacrifice before them, and fastens the boy's scarf to the marriage veil of the girl. The bride's mother brings a plate of food, of which both partake, the girl first helping her husband, and he then presenting food to her. During the whole celebration singing is kept up by the women. Their songs are usually poetical compositions in honour of Seetâ or Rookmunee, the wives of Râm and Krishn, or else ludicrous and not unfrequently obscene stanzas. We quote a few verses from a ballad called 'Seetâ's Marriage,' by one of the best reputed poets of Goozerat :—

I touch the feet of the great preceptor,
And to Gunesh I pay obeisance ;
I pray for wealth of successful skill,
By which the heart's longing may be satisfied.
I sing the nuptials of Râm.

The Prosody's leaves who has not turned,
Knows not how to frame the verse :
With all my strength I will sing my song ;
O Poets, count not its faults !
I sing the nuptials of Râm.

Dusruth King was Uyodhyâ's lord,
His heir was the illustrious Râm ;
At Jânporee ruled Junukjee the King,
To whom a Princess Royal, Seetâjee, was born.
I sing the nuptials of Râm.

Vyekoonth's lord was this illustrious Râm ;
Seetâ was incarnate Lukshmee ;
Assuming human form they wedded :
To sing their praises is destructive of sin.
I sing the nuptials of Râm.

First I relate how Junuk's daughter was born,
Then the story of the marriage,
How where sages dwell on the banks of Ganges,
So great calamity was caused by Râwun.
I sing the nuptials of Râm, &c., &c.

At last the bridegroom and the bride circumambulate the fire-pit four times, and the marriage is complete.

The Wur, if a Rajpoot chief, instead of going himself to be married, frequently sends his sword, which is treated as his representative, the whole ceremony being gone through with it, as if he were present in person, but the concluding circumambulation is in this case performed twice only, and again twice when the bride joins her husband. The practice originated probably in the necessity of secrecy in certain cases,[1] and it has been retained for convenience sake, and especially as a means of avoiding expense.

When the circumambulation is completed, the bride and bridegroom worship the polar star and the seven sages. Their relations, as many as are so disposed, come forward and present offerings to the pair, of which their parents take possession.

The bride and bridegroom now visit the lodging of his family, and his mother performs Nyoonchun to both. They worship the 'Gotruj,' and play a game of chance with betel-nut, dried dates, and coins—seven of each put in a cup. The women affirm that the mastery in wedded life falls to the victor in this game. The bridegroom's father presents to the guests offerings of clothes, disposed upon a shield or a metal tray, so as to hang down upon all sides.

When the Wur Raja's suite is ready to return home the bride's friends sprinkle their guests with rose-colored water, and mark them back and front with the impression of a hand. They fasten, also, to the carriage of the bridegroom a large vessel full of sweetmeats, and a lamp called 'the lantern of Râm,' as a sign that they have introduced light into his home through the marriage which has been completed. They take also from the hands of the bride and bridegroom the cocoa-nuts which they have held throughout the ceremony, and place them under the wheels of the carriage that they may be broken. As soon as they have cleared the village, the Wur Raja's relations dismiss the Brahmins, bards, and musicians who have attended them, making them presents. The stragglers are now collected from the village tank, where they have

[1] See that of Rana Rutna of Mewar. Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Oxford, 1920, i. 359, with the note by the editor.

been washing their hands and faces, and making their final preparations for the journey, and the whole party proceed homewards.

The bride goes home with her husband and remains a month, after which she returns to her father's. When she reaches the age of about twelve years her husband's friends send for her. The girl is usually exceedingly indisposed to leaving home, and weeps as an English child of the same age might do at going to school. Her father and mother persuade her, reminding her that her sisters and her cousins have gone in like manner and returned, and promising that she shall not remain long, and that her aunt or any other relation who happens to be married in the same village shall visit her constantly. They will also address themselves to the husband's father, and say, 'You must take care of our girl; she has 'never been outside the village up to this time, nor left her 'mother for a minute; you must let her go and visit her aunt, 'and take care that people don't frighten her.' The father-in-law protests, in reply, that no one is more interested in her than he himself is, and that he will take better care of her than her own father has taken. Other married girls, too, give her courage, and say, 'Never mind: I've been and come back, 'haven't I?' The child turns to her father, and says, 'Bâpâ! 'when will you come for me? Do come quick!' He promises to do so in ten or fifteen days, though perhaps he has no definite intention of going within a year. The girl makes him swear to her, and says, 'Mâ! mind you send him: and take 'care of my dolls and toys, and don't give them away.' At last she goes off with her husband's friends, and from that time she lives for the most part with them, paying only occasional visits to her native village.

Hindoo women neither receive nor expect that attention from the other sex which the customs of European countries allow of, or rather demand. The decided absence of gallantry expressed in a verse of Toolshee-dâs's far-renowned poem, 'The Story of Râm,' would have met with the approbation of the Yankee clock-maker himself. It runs thus:—

A drum, a fool, a beast, and a woman,
These, all of them, are subjects for beating.

A padishah, so says the story, once commanded his minister to fetch him the most shameless person and the most modest, the greatest coward and the person least accessible to fear in all his realm. The minister bowed obedience, and soon after re-appeared, leading in a woman. 'How,' said the padishah, 'is this? I asked for four persons.' 'The qualities of the 'four, may it please your majesty,' replied the minister, 'are 'concentrated in this one. She will veil herself in the presence 'of her elder brother, but if she go to a marriage she will 'sing obscene songs, such as a lewd man would be ashamed 'of. If her husband ask her to give him water in the night-'time she is afraid, it is so dark; but if she have a lover to 'meet, it is light enough for her to clamber over a mountain.'

Disrespect to women, however, crept in in the Mohummedan times. In older days rânees sat beside rajas in the court, and reeshees' wives beside their husbands in the assemblies of sages. To this hour the presence of woman is necessary to the due performance of a fire-sacrifice, and if none be there a figure is made to represent her, and dressed in female vestments. The marriage rite is also sanctified by the necessity which exists for a legitimate son. The Rajpootnee, of whose valour and constancy in days of old so many tales are related, still retains a high reputation even among those who concede but little honour to her 'unbusiness-like' lord. 'The wise woman's 'son,' says the trading wâneeo, 'is a fool, but the foolish 'woman's son' (alluding to his own wife or mother) 'is wise.'[1]

[1] 'While the master of the family,' says Captain Macmurdo, in his account of the Province of Kutch, (*vide* Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, vol. ii, p. 226), 'is thus careless and lost to every 'thing that is honorable or respectable, his wives (for they, the Jhârejas, 'have often more than one) are active, jealous, and intriguing. They 'are the daughters of the Jhâlâ, Wâghela, Shodâ, or Gohil Rajpoots, 'who marry the grâs and not the man. These wives have each their 'respective establishment of servants, cattle, carriages, &c., and a village, 'or more or less, according to the means of the husband. The women 'of the Rajpoots are much distinguished from those of any other caste 'of Hindoos. They are high-spirited, bold, and enterprising, and are 'justly celebrated for a remarkable neatness of person, and anxiety 'about personal appearance, even when advanced in life, which is 'met with in no other native. The Rajpootnee has her cosmetics and 'washes, as well as the ladies of Europe, and understands the method

The women's subjection is, however, in any case rather apparent than real, and they are themselves not a little anxious to maintain its appearance, resenting any want of imperiousness in the behaviour of their husbands to them in public, and expressing their astonishment at and contempt for the manners of their European rulers in this respect, by inventing a mythological story to account for that which otherwise would appear to be so wholly unintelligible.

'When Râwun,' say they, 'carried off Seetâ, the wife of 'Râm, he placed her under the care of the demons of Ceylon 'and their wives, which latter became her personal attendants. 'Seetâ received so much homage, from the latter especially, 'that she predicted that the demons should, in the iron age, 'acquire supreme power throughout Hindoostan, and enjoined 'upon them the respectful treatment of their wives in remem'brance of her prophetic boon.'

It is hardly necessary to add, that they trace the fulfilment of Seetâ's prediction in the sovereignty of the British, accompanied, as it is, by the well-established supremacy of the ladies.[1]

'of making an artificial mole or patch on the most favourable spot to 'set off the beauty of the skin or countenance; and, next perhaps 'to the love of wealth and rank, the improvement of her personal 'charms is the strongest passion in this lady's breast.

'They are by no means exempt from the softer passion; but how 'can they love their drunken lords? and they have no access to gallantry 'of the higher kind. Sorry I am to be obliged to say that scandal loudly 'asserts that the fair and interesting Rajpootnee is reduced to intrigue 'with servants and menials.'

The same author adds, that 'Rajpoot women seldom or never suckle 'their children for fear of destroying the beauty of their persons.' He writes thus in another place,—'Until I came to Kutch, I never heard 'of females procuring abortions merely to prevent their figures and their 'breasts being injured in appearance. This practice is also peculiar 'to the grâssiâ class, and not frequent; although I have known a woman 'who acknowledged to five abortions of this kind in her own person.' Idem pp. 229–234.

[1] Many people in Goozerat believe that Europeans worship Seetâ. An English or a Portuguese clergyman is commonly called 'a Seetâ 'Padre,' and Brahmins or Wyerâgees, when asked by Europeans who they are, will frequently, by way of making their position more intelligible to the stranger, tell him that they are 'Seetâ Padres.' The notion was induced most probably by the Mariolatry of the Romish Church.

There is, however, at least one occasion upon which the Hindoo wife becomes the object of unusual solicitude and care. When the young married woman has reached the fourth month of her pregnancy a bracelet is fastened upon her arm, to which is affixed, as an amulet to protect her from the evil eye, a packet of dark coloured cloth, containing scrapings from the image of Hunoomân and dust from the cross-roads. A feast is given on her investiture with this bracelet, and she is released, during the time she wears it, from the performance of any part of the household duties, for in India as in England,

> Fairies and *nymphs with child* must have the things
> They long for.[1]

In the sixth or eighth month of her pregnancy the caste are again assembled to a feast, and the family priest performs fire-sacrifice before them. The woman is conveyed to the house of some relation, where she performs ablutions, and dresses

[1] [The following are the domestic ceremonies (*Saṁskāra*) prescribed in the *Gṛihya Sūtras* for a boy of the higher castes from his conception to his marriage :—

1. *Garbhādāna*, the impregnation rite.
2. *Puṃsavana*, or rite to ensure the birth of a male child.
3. *Sīmantonnayana*, or parting the mother's hair.
4. *Jātakarman*, or birth-rite.
5. *Nāma Karaṇa*, naming the child.
6. *Nishkramaṇa*, carrying him out to view the Sun.
7. *Anna Prāśana*, feeding for the first time.
8. *Chauda*, tonsure.
9. *Keśānta*, haircutting.
10. *Upanayana*, thread ceremony and initiation. The Sacred Thread (*jānve*) is put on, and the boy receives the *gāyatri mantra*. He is now 'born again' and becomes a Brāhman (*dvija*).
11. *Samāvartana*, home-coming. The boy leaves his preceptor's *āśrama* and becomes a householder (*grihastha*).
12. *Vivāha*, marriage.

Only the third, tenth, and twelfth of these ceremonies are now performed at the proper times. The others are either neglected or conveniently grouped. Thus, the *Sīmanta*, or hair-parting ceremony, is combined with the *garbhādāna* and *puṁsavana* ritual. This *Saṃskāra* also includes two other ceremonies referred to by Forbes, viz. *Rākhdi*, or guard-binding, when an amulet is fastened on the pregnant woman's arm, and *Anavalobhana*, or longing-soothing, to appease the longing for strange food which accompanies pregnancy.—Monier-Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, 4th ed., 353.]

herself in handsome clothes and ornaments. She is thence conducted in procession, attended by musicians and singers, to the house of her husband. Her friends precede her as she walks thither, and strew her path with betel-nut and coins. At home she is received by her father, who has come from his village for the purpose, and who presents her with clothes, jewels, money, and other offerings, not forgetting the symbolical cocoa-nut, disposed together upon a shield. He also binds a new turban upon her husband's head, and presents her mother-in-law with a scarf. The latter receives the young married woman at the threshold with 'Nyoonchun,' and the fire sacrifice, called 'Gurbh Sunskâr,' is performed. The woman retires with her own family to her father's house.

If a male child be born, letters called 'Wudhâmunee,' announcing the joyful occurrence, are despatched at once to the father's house. The bearer, on his arrival, is entertained, and presented with a new turban. If the father be a chief the royal drum is sounded, and prisoners are released. Sometimes, on the letter announcing the birth of a son, the mark of the new-born child's feet is made in a liquid of the auspicious colour. The 'Wudhâmunee' is very similar to the letter of invitation to a marriage, which has been already given, but in the principal place runs somewhat as follows :—

'Sister Kunkoobâ has (on such a day and hour) given 'birth to a son, a turban-wearer. His horoscope promises 'well.'

If the child be a girl, the expression is 'a daughter, a veil-wearer.' The reason for this addition is, that in all places originally people wrote (as they now in many places write) only consonants, omitting vowels, so that without the further description, the word *deekuro* (son) might be read *deekuree* (daughter), and *vice versâ*.

Some friend, immediately the birth has taken place, proceeds, bearing a cocoa-nut in his hands, to the astrologer's, who notes down the year, the month, the day of the month, and week, and the hour, also the signs in which the sun and planets stand. From this paper the astrologer subsequently draws out the child's horoscope.

On the sixth day after the birth Brumhâ is worshipped,

under the name of Vidhâtâ, the supposition being that he is on that day employed in recording the various incidents of the child's future career by writing them on the forehead of the skull. A piece of blank paper, a pen, and an inkstand, are placed in order for the use of Vidhâtâ, but care is taken that the ink shall be red, not black, that the letters traced by the hand of destiny may be of the auspicious colour. On the same day strings or chains made of silver or gold, and called 'Kundoro,' are tied round the loins, hands, and feet of the child.

On the thirteenth day after its birth the child acquires a name. The first letter of it is fixed by the astrologer. The names of relations must be avoided, as well as those of ancestors, but Rajpoots sometimes give the names of their own fathers to their children. Under these restrictions the name is determined by the father's sister, who is called Phye. Four women, taking each of them a leaf of the sacred fig-tree in their hands, raise the child in a cloth, which they hold by the corners, and move about, repeating, seven times, a barbarous rhyme :—

> With this cloth and peepul leaf
> The Phye has fixed the name of ——.

The women and children are then regaled with sweetmeats.

Within a year and a quarter of the birth the relations are once more called together to witness the ceremony called 'Unnprâshun,' performed on the child's first tasting farinaceous food. Brahmins once more worship the Gotruj, and kindle the sacred sacrificial fire. In order to determine the course of life which the child is to follow, they set before it the insignia of several professions :—

> That which first the child doth touch,
> Vessel, money, weapon, or book,
> The livelihood of the child
> By that same will be procured.

The vessel probably alludes to cooking, if the Goozerat proverb may be taken as a guide, which celebrates the accomplishments of him who can handle

> The pen, *the ladle*, or the spear.

If a child die before the 'Unnprâshun' ceremony has been performed it is buried in the ground instead of being committed to the funeral pile. A similar custom was, it appears, observed among the Greeks, in regard to infants who died before cutting a tooth. The Romans also had the same custom, applied sometimes to children who did not reach their fortieth day, and the observance is particularly mentioned as having obtained in the case of members of the *Gens Cornelia*.

CHAPTER VIII

FUNERALS

All things that we ordained festival
Turn from their office to black funeral:
Our instruments to melancholy bells;
Our wedding cheer to a sad burial feast;
Our solemn hymns to sullen dirges change;
Our bridal flowers serve for a buried corse,
And all things change them to the contrary.[1]

In addition to that of children who have not undergone the 'Unnpráshun' ceremony, there is also another exception among the Hindoos of Goozerat to the otherwise universal rule of cremation—that of the Sunyâsee. At the devotee's interment no wailings or expressions of grief are allowed. The corpse, seated in a litter, is borne to the grave preceded by musicians and attended by persons who cast rose-coloured powder into the air, or demonstrate in other modes their joy. It is placed in the earth in a sitting posture, instead of being consumed on the pile. A small platform raised over the spot, and exhibiting the sculptured feet of the deceased, commemorates his sanctity.

When age or infirmities warn a man of the near approach of death, he should (so say the Shâstras) perform, to the best of his ability, 'deh shooddh prâyuscheet,' or expiatory penances for the purification of his body. To this end the Yujmân, or performer of penance, calls in the assistance of one or more Brahmins skilled in the veds. He bathes, dresses himself in wet clothes, and, fasting, circumambulates the seated Brahmins, and prostrates himself before them. He is instructed to confess the sins, whatever they may be, which he has committed from his birth up to that hour,—'in childhood, in youth, or in old 'age, be they secret or open, wilfully or unwittingly committed, 'whether of thought, of speech, or of act, whether great or 'small.' In this category he is directed to include not only

1 [*Romeo and Juliet*, Act V, sc. 4.]

those offences which are acknowledged throughout the world as violations of the universal moral law, but also those peculiar crimes which the religion of the Poorâns treats as equally heinous. He is called upon to confess if he have slaughtered cows, if he have sat in his spiritual preceptor's seat, drank fermented liquor, cut a tree for fire-wood, been the cause of loss of caste to man, or of loss of life to insect,—if he have eaten what was not fit to be eaten, served one who was not fit to be served,—if he have drank water while sitting on a couch, —if he have ridden astride on a cow, a bull, a buffalo, a donkey, or a camel,—if he have reclined in a litter borne by Brahmins, —if, above all, he have disappointed a Brahmin's expectations. The Yujmân entreats the readers of the veds to point out to him the means of expiating these sins.

From Brumhâ to the insects,

he is taught to say,

The universe is thralled by you ;
The Yukshes, the Râkshuses, the Pisâchs too
Devs, Dytes, and men together.

You know all that relates to religion ;
You are its conservators, O Brahmins all !
For my body purity
Procure, O good Brahmins !

By me have been committed very terrible
Wilful or unwitting sins :
Show kindness to me !
Give me good instruction !

By you who are worship-worthy, cleansed
Shall I become, O best of the regenerate !

Sometimes he is directed to wash the feet of these imperious priests, and, drinking the thus purified water, to acknowledge their supremacy in such language as the following :—

On earth whatever Teerths exist,
Those Teerths into the ocean ; [1]
From the ocean all Teerths
Into the twice-born's right foot travel.

[1] 'Teerths,' Skt. *tîrtha*, are places of pilgrimage. The allusion is to the rivers, whose banks abounded with consecrated spots.

Destiny-thralled is all the world ;
Charm-thralled are the Devtâs :
Those very charms are Brahmin-thralled ;
Therefore Brahmin is Devtâ.

The Brahmins answer, 'You shall be cleansed !' They then prescribe fastings and penances, or enjoin ten thousand repetitions of the sacred Gâyutree, or the offering of a thousand fire-sacrifices ; or, more usually, that most effectual of all pious actions, the feasting of Brahmins. The Yujmân causes himself to be shaved while a Brahmin mutters this charm :—

The various sins,
Brahmin-murder equalling,
In the hair, sheltered, reside.
Therefore the hair I remove.

A tuft, however, must be allowed to remain on the crown of the head. The Yujmân is directed to bathe in the ten prescribed forms,—with ashes of the sacrificial fire, with dust of the earth, with dust of cow-dung, with urine of the cow, with milk, with curds, with clarified butter, with drugs, with sacrificial grass, and with water. Charms must be muttered suited to each ablution. The penitent dresses himself in clean clothes, and worships Vishnoo in his emblem—the shâlagrâm ; and while the Brahmins offer fire-sacrifice, he must present 'ten 'gifts,'—

A cow, land, sesamum, gold, clarified butter,
Garments, grain, sugar,
Silver, and salt,—these are prescribed
As the 'ten gifts,' by the learned.

These offerings made, the penitent presents to the Brahmins 'the shadow gift,'—a cup of melted butter, in which he has beheld the reflection of his countenance. He then says to the priests, 'This penance of mine must be rendered valid by 'you.' They reply, 'It is rendered valid.'

The rites above described are performed also by pilgrims on their arrival at the sacred spot, and by those who seek re-institution into the caste-privileges of which they have been temporarily deprived. If a man should die leaving the 'deh 'shooddh prâyuscheet' unperformed, it becomes the duty of his successor to perform it in his stead at the time when he

celebrates his obsequies ; and if *he* neglect this sacred obligation, both father and son descend to the pits of hell.

On the road to the city in which Yuma, the king who judges the dead, keeps his court, is a river called Vyeturunee, the means of passing which must be provided in this world.[1] 'If 'any one,'—it is Krishn himself who has said it,—'be by 'his good destiny incited, while in this world, with the desire 'of passing Vyeturunee in comfort, let him when the resolve 'comes into his heart, or at some virtuous time, present a good 'cow as a gift.' The vulgar notion is that the animal precedes the deceased, who grasps its tail, and drying up a passage before him, enables him to cross the river of Hades. If he relax his hold, the stream, it is believed, returns upon him.[2] The cow should have its horns gilt, and its hoofs shod with silver. It should be either black or white. With it must be presented to the Brahmin a copper-brass vessel, to be used in milking it. Black garments must be laid upon it. Clothes, for the use of the departed spirit, should be presented at the same time, shoes, a ring, and an umbrella ; also the seven gifts of grain. There must be offered, also, a copper trough, which represents Vyeturunee, which is filled with honey and placed upon a heap of cotton. A gold image of Yuma must be made, and an iron staff placed in its hand. A boat made of sugar-cane must also be prepared. The Brahmin worships the King of Hades, and calls him into the image, thus addressing him :—

Rider of the mighty buffalo,
Holder of the staff and chain,
Red-eyed, large-handed,
Dhurum Râj, I praise thee !

These arrangements completed, the cow and the image of Yuma must be worshipped, obeisance paid to the Brahmin, and circumambulation of the whole performed. The gifts are then presented to the priest, the giver holding in his hand the tail

[1] On the subject of gifts made to supply the necessities of the dead, see note at the end of this Chapter.

[2] We have frequently seen, in Goozerat, cowherds, whose pasture ground was on the opposite side of a river from that on which their village stood, swimming their cattle across the stream, and assisting themselves in the passage by holding on to the tail of one of the animals.

of the cow, with some sacrificial grass and a piece of purple basil, and repeating this charm,—

On Yuma's road, the very terrible,
I have heard of Vyeturunee river.
To cross it, I offer this cow ;
O twice born ! I praise Vyeturunee !

He next addresses the cow thus,—

O Dhenoo ! wait thou for me
On that great road which leads to Yuma's gate ;
To cross I am desirous, O Devee !
To cross Vyeturunee ! praises to thee.

Lastly, turning to the Brahmin, and paying him obeisance, he presents the cow to him, and says,—

Vishnoo-like, O Brahmin great !
O earth-Dev ! cleanser of a line of men !
For passage of Vyeturunee
This sable cow to thee I offer !

When a Hindoo appears to be at the point of death his friends prepare a place on the ground by smearing it with cow-dung ; they strew it with sacrificial grass, with sesamum and barley. The dying man is stripped of his ornaments and of his clothes, with the exception of a single garment. The hair of his head and his moustaches are removed, and his body is washed with water. He is then laid upon the place which has been prepared, with his feet pointing northwards towards Meroo and the abodes of the blessed, and his back turned upon the city of Yuma. A small cup, containing a cake with a silver coin laid upon it, is placed in his hand. Some poor Brahmin is then called in to receive the cup from the hands of the dying man. Rich persons present a cow, gold, or other valuable presents, and they promise their departing relative that they will carry his bones to Benares and cast them into the Ganges, or that they will make pilgrimage (the merit of which shall be his) to Muthoorâ, Dwârkâ, Somnâth, or other celebrated holy ground. They take vows, also, on behalf of the dying man, to fast or to spend money in religious offerings, sealing the promise by presentation of a handful of water. Sometimes they offer gifts of iron to propitiate Yuma, whose weapons are of that metal. These offerings are meritorious

alike to the giver and to him on whose behalf they are presented. 'The son,' it is said, 'who presents gifts by the 'hands of a dying father, should be honoured as the lamp of 'his race.'

At the same time they set near the dying man a lamp supplied with clarified butter, pour Ganges water into his mouth, and place therein a leaf of the purple basil and a portion of curd.

It has been pronounced that if, even when the life has reached the throat, a man declare that he has abandoned the world, he reaches Vyekoonth after death and is released from further transmigration. Some persons, therefore, when they believe that their end is approaching, perform the rite of 'Âthoor Sunyâs,' and, calling for an ascetic, receive at his hands initiation and the tawny garment which proclaims that they have renounced the world and its concerns.[1]

The Hindoos have been taught to believe that the agonies of the death-struggle are pangs caused by the tyrannous servants of the King of Hades, who are dragging the unwilling soul from its tenement. Stricken with sorrow and with awe, they vent these mingled emotions by repeatedly calling upon Râm. A few moments pass, and the convulsive throes of the dying man are over—the immortal soul is disengaged from its fleshy host and companion. Whither has it departed ?

> Quæ nunc abibit in loca,
> Pallidula, rigida, nudula ?

Before, however, we pursue this interesting enquiry, let us stay awhile to bestow the corse, and observe the mourners until they have 'compounded it with dust whereto 'tis kin.'

[1] These tardy devotees remind us of some of the earlier proselytes of Christianity, and, in particular, of the great Constantine, whose reluctance to assume the white vestments of the neophyte, and the obligations attendant on a new birth unto righteousness, could only be overcome, as Gibbon mentions, at that latest moment when the stern hand of death was tearing from his shoulders the imperial purple.

'All this year (A. D. 1128),' says the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 'King 'Henry was in Normandy, on account of the war between him and his 'nephew, the Earl of Flanders ; but the earl was wounded in battle 'by a servant, and, being so wounded, he went to the monastery of 'St. Bertin, and forthwith he was made a monk, and lived five days 'after, and then died, and was buried there—God rest his soul !'

When all is over the relations and neighbours assemble at the house of the deceased; and, like an *entre-acte* to the tragic drama, commences the humming moan of lamentation. The nearer relatives enter the habitation, exclaiming, 'O father! 'O brother!' The women, standing in a circle near the door, bewail the deceased, and sing a funeral dirge, beating their breasts in sad accompaniment to the measure. Young persons are lamented longer and more poignantly than those whose advanced age seems to have pointed them out as the natural victims of the angel of death. The dirge, which usually consists of unconnected exclamations of grief, is sung by one or two women, while the remainder join in chorus. That, of which we proceed to give a part, bewails the death of an early victim, one, it will be observed, who, crowned in former days as a bridegroom-king, is now lamented as a chief and a warrior:—

Alas! alas! without the village the wail resounds,
Voi! the valiant, alas! alas!
Alas! alas! this is Râmjee's anger,
Voi! the valiant, alas! alas!
Alas! alas! with blood the clouds have rained,
Voi! the valiant, alas! alas!
Alas! alas! its bounds the sea has abandoned,
Voi! the valiant, alas! alas!
Alas! alas! the home-leaving bride is plundered,
Voi! the valiant, alas! alas!
Alas! alas! Yum Raja's plunderers have come,
Voi! the valiant, alas! alas!
Alas! alas! they have slain the bridegroom-king,
Voi! the valiant, alas! alas!
Alas! alas! his mundup has been cast down,
Voi! the valiant, alas! alas!
Alas! alas! the vessels of his Choree have been broken,
Voi! the valiant, alas! alas!
Alas! alas! his life has been treacherously stolen,
Voi! the valiant, alas! alas!

. . . .

These utterances of grief are rude, but they are far from unaffecting, even to the stranger—the *sea-dwelling* Englishman; and, as they alternately rise and fall, their sound, stealing from a distance upon his ear, reminds him of that measured melancholy tone which the breakers of ocean produce

on some calm evening, as, by turns, they roll upon and recede from a shingled beach.

This 'threnos' finished, the female mourners sit down panting and exhausted; but still weeping, they cry to each other, and chant forth exclamations such as these: 'Ah, son! 'who will take care of me now? who will light the funeral 'pile for me?' 'Ah, husband! you have deserted me 'treacherously; you have left me with my children un-'married!' or, 'Ah, brother! who will welcome me now, 'when I return home from my husband's? Ah! the fig-tree 'will grow now in my father's house!'[1]

While the women are thus engaged, two or three persons are employed in the interior of the house in preparing the corpse for the funeral pile. A litter of bamboos is made, and the corpse is wrapped in a new scarf of the auspicious colour. Lump-offerings of flour and water are prepared, of which two, called 'shub' and 'pânthuk,' are placed, the former on the pallet of sacrificial grass upon which the corpse reclines, and the latter at the threshold of the house.

A married woman returning home from a visit at her father's house is presented with clothes, and anointed with red ointment on the forehead: the ceremony is called the Sâsur-wâso. If she die at the house of her parents, or in the village where it is situated, her family prepare for the corpse *the last sâsur-wâso*. They anoint its forehead, dress it in new clothes, and adorn it with a marriage scarf.

[1] The lamentation for the dead in use among the Greeks appears to have been originally sung by women, with vehement expressions of grief, but to have been so far systematized, as early even as the time of Homer, that singers by profession stood near the bed where the body was laid out, and began the lament, while the women merely assisted (See Müller). The evil effects produced by the custom of beating the breast, still retained by the women of Goozerat, has, we believe, induced some benevolent Hindoos to endeavour to introduce professional mourners, who would exactly occupy the place given by the Grecians to the ἀοιδοὶ θρήνων ἔξαρχοι. The prophet Jeremiah is supposed to be repeating part of the usual funeral dirge, when he predicts of Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, King of Judah, that 'They shall not lament for him, 'saying, Ah my brother! or, Ah sister! they shall not lament for him, 'saying, Ah lord! or, Ah his glory!'—Vide *Jeremiah* xxii. v. 18, *and note with references in D'Oyly and Mant. See also Amos* v. 16. *Ecclesiastes* xii. 5–6.

The corpse prepared, and placed upon the litter, four persons raise it upon their shoulders.[1] They have previously performed ablutions, and dressed themselves in silk garments. The corpse is carried forth feet first; one man precedes it, bearing an earthen vessel which contains fire. The relations and neighbours follow, bare-headed, without shoes, and half naked,[2] running and calling upon their god, the son of Dusruth; or sometimes one man alone cries to the rest as they run—'Call 'on Râm!' to which they reply in chorus, 'Brother! Râm!' The women follow the funeral procession to the gate of the village, and thence return slowly home.

It is written in the Shâstras that the corpse should be set down at cross-roads within the village, and that the third lump offering, called 'Khechur,' should be offered there: this custom has, however, fallen into disuse. The Gurood Poorân prescribes that the inhabitants of a village in which a death has taken place are to abstain from food until the corpse has been carried out; at the present time the occupants of the adjoining houses alone observe this practice.

The funeral company, when they have passed outside the village, make a halt, and lay the corpse upon the earth: some one of them who has preceded the rest sprinkling water of purification from a vessel which he carries in his hand, sanctifies the ground. Here the third and fourth lump offerings, of which the latter is called 'Bhoot,' are offered together, and the bearers of the corpse reverse its position, and carry it henceforth head foremost. Hence they proceed to the place of cremation, which is usually on the bank of a river, and here they erect the funeral pile, which, if their means allow it, they form of sandal and other costly woods, interspersed with cocoanuts. The corpse is separated from the litter to which it was

[1] 'The Rajpoot warrior,' says Colonel Tod, 'is carried to his final 'abode armed at all points as when alive, his shield on his back, and 'brand in his hand; while his steed, though not sacrificed, is often 'presented to the deity, and becomes a perquisite of the priest.'—Vide *Annals of Rajasthan*, Oxford, 1920, i. 88.

[2] So the Jews in their mourning. 'Uncover not your heads, neither rend your clothes.'—*Leviticus* x. 6. 'Forbear to cry, make no mourning for the dead, bind the tire of thine head upon thee, and put on thy shoes upon thy feet.'—*Ezekiel* xxiv. 17.

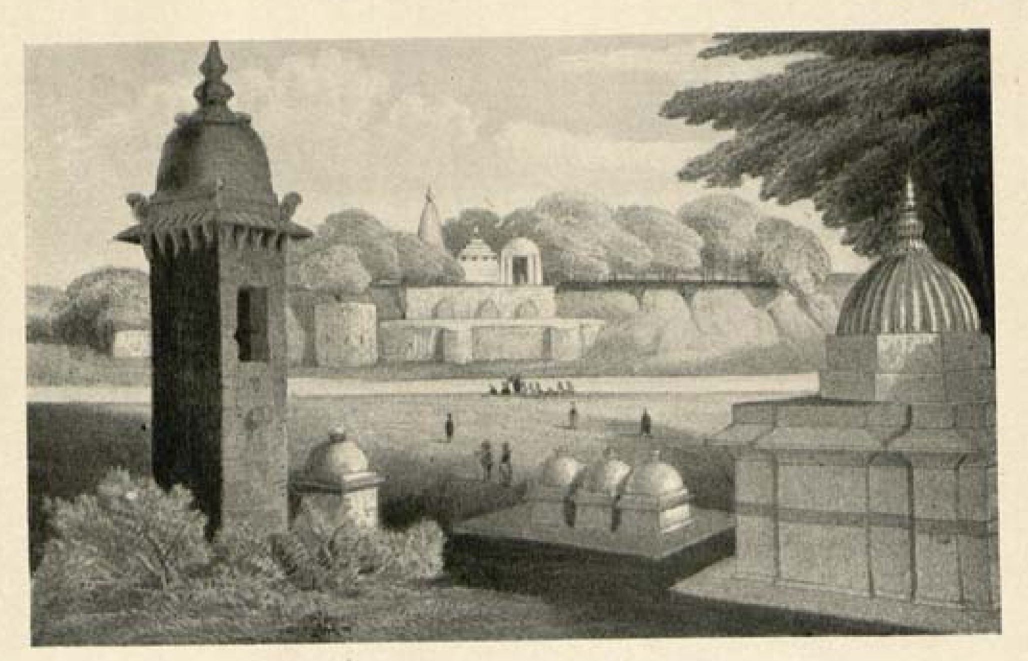
attached, and from the scarf which covered it, and both these are cast aside: it is laid upon the pile with its face towards the abodes of the blessed, and it is covered with additional fuel heaped upon it. The fifth and sixth lump offerings, which are called respectively 'Sâdhuk' and 'Pret,' are here set down. The son, or nearest of kin to the deceased, lights a bundle of dry grass, and passing three times round the pile, places the fire as near as the wind permits him to the head of the corpse. The party of mourners sit down, and await the issue with lamentation; when the corpse is nearly consumed they pour clarified butter upon the pile to feed the fire. As soon as the cremation is finished, the ashes of the dead are collected from the pile and are cast into the river water, or if no stream be at hand they are deposited in a pit dug for the purpose, and sprinkled with water. He who fired the pile collects seven small pieces of bone, and enclosing them in mould commits them to the earth in the place on which the head of the corpse had rested. Over the spot the poor raise a simple mound, and place thereon a water vessel and a cake of bread, but wealthy persons erect upon the site of the funeral pile a temple, which is consecrated to Muhâ Dev.

The ceremonies above described are intended as a figurative compliance with each of the four modes of disposing of a corpse which are prescribed by the Shâstras,—casting out into the jungle (the type of which is the setting down the corpse outside the village gate), cremation, plunging into water, and interment.

At the funeral of a wealthy person a cow is frequently brought to the pile, and its milk sprinkled on the spot where the body has been consumed; the cow is then given to a Brahmin. The legend of the Sâbhermutee accounts for the name of Doodhesur—a well-known place of cremation on the banks of that river, near the city of Ahmedabad—by asserting that when the corpse of the sage Dudeechee was consumed on the pile at that spot the sovereign and the denizens of Paradise brought thither Kâm Dhenoo, the sacred cow, with whose milk they consecrated the ground.

These ceremonies complied with, the mourners perform ablutions and wash their clothes, and the heir presents an

PLATE V



PLACE OF CREMATION, NEAR AHMEDABAD

offering of sesamum and water to the deceased 'to cool him 'after the flames.' [1] The friends who have attended the corpse to the pile rejoin once more, at the house of the deceased, the women and those who have remained behind, and thence disperse to their own homes.

A woman, on the death of her husband, breaks the bracelets which were placed on her arms at the time of her marriage. If she be a Brahminee she causes her head to be shaved on the tenth day after the funeral. For a whole year she mourns, seated in a corner of the house; at the end of that time her relations come 'to put an end to her mourning,' and take her with them home. If no house be open to receive her she makes a pilgrimage to Boucherâjee's, to Prubhâs, or to the Nerbudda. The widow absents herself from all caste entertainments. At the present day, however, in case she has not attained the age of fifteen years, her marriage bracelets are allowed to remain, and she is not treated as a widow; but when she is thirty years old, the occurrence of a death among her near relations—as, for instance, that of her father, or her brother—is considered as a proper season for her retirement into the state of widowhood. The widow, if she be wealthy, replaces her marriage bracelets with gold ones: if of the Rajpoot blood, she wears black clothes: if of the Brahmin or Wâneeá castes she adopts a dress of any sombre colour, unadorned by a figure. The Shâstras, however, prescribe

[1] Our readers will be reminded of the chalice of oblivion in Moore's *Epicurean*:—

Drink of this cup—Osiris sips
  The same in his halls below;
And the same he gives *to cool the lips*
  Of the Dead who downward go.

Drink of this cup—the water within
  Is fresh from Lethe's stream;
'Twill make the past, with all its sin,
  And all its pain and sorrows, seem
  Like a long-forgotten dream!

No such happy oblivion would, however, appear to be held out to the hopes of the Hindoo: on the contrary, it would seem to be part of the reward of the virtuous that they should be gifted with reminiscences of a former birth.

a white dress to the widow, and forbid her to use any ornament.

The time of mourning, as regards others than widows, varies from a month to a year, according to the age of the deceased and the degree of consanguinity. Mourners abstain from festivities and from certain kinds of food, and dress themselves in white or sombre-coloured garments. Absent relations are informed of the death by letters forwarded by the hands of an out-caste, and marked on the outside 'strip 'and read.' The object of this inscription is to avoid inconvenience,—the person who has received such intelligence being held to be unclean, and the dress he wears defiled. These letters are called 'Krishnâkshuree' (black letters), or by a more common name conveying the idea of impurity. We introduce one of them with the view both of showing their character, and of calling attention to a point upon which we have already remarked,—the reckless extravagance which has become almost compulsory upon Hindoos in performing the obsequies of the dead [1] :—

FORM OF KRISHNÂKSHUREE

To Mehta Kuleeânrow Keshuvrow, and Mehta Jumeeutrâm Nurbherâm (the son-in-law and uncle of the deceased), residing in the city of Ahmedabad, Mehta Bhuwaneerâm Munchârâm (the friend of deceased) writes from Surat. Receive his salutation. Further, the cause of writing is this :—On Wednesday, the second of the current month of Chyetra, at the sixth hour of the night, our good friend, Jâdoorâm Vehemshunkur, became a denizen of Paradise. This has fallen out very ill, but what the illustrious Supreme Lord may do must be assented to. In such a matter no one's strength avails. Up to the third watch of the second Jâdoorâm had no disease, even in the nail of his finger, but was hale and well ; however, he was attacked with cholera when two hours of the day

[1] See on this subject Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Oxford, 1920, i. 240 f., for sumptuary edicts by Mahârânâ Sangrâm Singh of Mewar, and the great Jey Singh of Amber. The latter had an ordinance, restricting the number of guests on three occasions to fifty-one, and restraining the less wealthy classes from the use of expensive food.

remained. We used very many remedies, and made very many vows, but as his allotted term of life had come to a close, no remedy availed. Our relations had all gone on a pilgrimage; on this occasion, therefore, I and Vivekrâm (a neighbour) were the only persons on the spot, and we, too, had gone out to procure medicine. Meanwhile our good friend, Jâdoorâm, fell into the last agonies, but by his good fortune, and on account of the great number of his virtuous actions in his former states of existence and in his present, we both of us immediately arrived, and carefully attending him in his dying moments, caused him to offer virtuous gifts, placed him upon the earth, and poured Ganges water into his mouth. If we had not arrived he would have died on his bed, and we should then have been compelled to perform 'pootul 'veedhân.'

Console good mistress Ugunántâ (daughter of deceased and wife of Kuleeânrow), and do not permit her to wail or beat her breast. Do we what we may, we shall never behold his face again; therefore let us be composed, and arrange how we are to entertain the caste according to the respectability of the family. If we should be compelled to spend five or ten rupees over and above, never mind that, because, working and labouring, we will make that up. But our parent's obsequies will not occur again. There is a house worth Rs. 500, and ornaments worth Rs. 200, and vessels, furniture, and other things worth Rs. 100,—in all, property worth Rs. 800. But it will cost Rs. 1100 to feast the caste in Surat for three days, therefore we shall have to borrow Rs. 300 at interest. The boys are young now, but when they grow up they will work, and clear off the debt. Entertain no anxiety on this account. It is a proverb that there is no calamity for him who has sons, so, as there are sons, what difficulty is there about borrowing or lending? They will clear all off to-morrow. Therefore, if you are good relations, come to arrange the obsequies. When you have read this letter prepare in the sixth part of a day. Do not wait to drink water. If you do not come, then the blame will be laid on you by the caste. We will have nothing to do with it.

(Signed) BHUWÂNEERÂM MUNCHÂRÂM.

NOTE ON THE SUBJECT OF GIFTS MADE TO SUPPLY THE NECESSITIES OF THE DEAD

'A man,' says a Hebrew fable, 'had three friends; two of them he 'loved exceedingly; to the third he was indifferent, though he was 'the most sincere. One day he was summoned before the justice for 'a matter of which he was innocent. "Who among you," said he, "will 'go with me, and witness for me?" The first of his friends excused 'himself immediately on the pretence of other business. The second 'accompanied him to the door of the tribunal, but there he turned and 'went back for fear of the judge. The third, upon whom he had least 'depended, went in, spoke for him, and witnessed his innocence so 'cheerfully, that the judge released him, and made him a present besides. 'Man has three friends in this world. How do they behave in the hour 'of death, when God summons him before his judgment-seat? Gold, 'his best friend, leaves him first. His relations and friends accompany 'him to the brink of the grave, and return again to their houses. His 'good deeds alone accompany him to the throne of the Judge; they go 'before, speak of him, and find mercy and favour.' So far the fable, of which Mr. Trench remarks (*Notes on the Parables*, sixth edition, p. 51), that it is ingenious enough, though a notable specimen of Jewish self-righteousness. Grosser conceptions of the truth than this appear, however, to have been popularly entertained even among the children of Israel—the chosen of God. In the contemplation of a future state of happiness, their thoughts still clung to the pleasures, and glories, and occupations of this world, and they were unable to comprehend that the interest of the departed in the affairs of the present life had ceased for ever. Thus, the marital rights acquired on earth, and not voluntarily renounced by bill of divorce, were, in their eyes, valid even after death had separated husband and wife, and it was no strange thing to them that a dead Alexander should claim his forgetful Glaphyra from the incestuous embraces of Archelaus. It is not surprising, then, that we should find in the popular creed of *heathen* nations a constantly recurring idea that the spirits of the dead still retain a share in human concerns, and may be rendered happy or miserable by the forethought or neglect of mortals. The tribes which have remained unconverted to Christianity, whether of ancient or of modern times, whether enlightened or barbarous, appear to have adopted with one consentient voice the idea that the passage of the soul to its destination after death is to be smoothed, and its necessities provided for, by the due performance of funeral rights. The nations of classical antiquity placed in the mouth of the corpse the piece of money which was destined to be Charon's fee for ferrying the soul over the infernal river, and beside it they laid the cake of flour and honey which was designed to appease the fury of Cerberus, the gate-keeper of Hades. The Romans placed in the sepulchres of the dead, to appease their *manes*, the 'cœna feralis' of milk, honey, water, wine, and olives. And the heroes of Scandinavia firmly believed in the assurance, which they had received from Odin himself, that the arms, the war-horses,

and the servants, which were buried with them in their graves should avail them in the day on which they were to enter Valhalla, and present themselves before the throne of its warrior god. 'The Laplanders to 'this day provide their dead with a flint, and everything necessary for 'lighting them along the dark passage they have to traverse after 'death,' and the red woodsman of America buries a rifle with his departed friend, that he may be enabled to pursue the chase in the world of spirits. 'The Tartar sovereigns,' remarks M. Huc, 'are sometimes interred in 'a manner which appears the very height of extravagance and barbarism; 'the royal corpse is placed in an edifice of brick, adorned with stone 'images of men, lions, tigers, elephants, and divers subjects from the 'Buddhist mythology. With the illustrious defunct they inter, in a large 'vault in the centre of the building, considerable sums in gold and silver, 'precious stones, and costly habits.

'These monstrous interments frequently cost, also, the lives of a 'number of slaves; children of both sexes, distinguished for their 'beauty, are taken, and compelled to swallow mercury until they are 'suffocated; by this means, it is asserted, the color and freshness of 'the victims is preserved so well that they appear alive. They are 'then ranged standing round the corpse of their master, to serve him as in 'life. They hold in their hands the pipe, fan, the little vial of snuff, and the 'other numerous baubles of Tartar royalty.

'To guard these buried treasures, there is placed in the vault a kind 'of bow, constructed to discharge a number of arrows, one after the 'other. This bow, or rather these bows, are bound together and the 'arrows fixed. This species of infernal machine is so placed that the 'act of opening the door of the vault discharges the first arrow, the 'discharge of the first releases the second, and so on to the last. The 'bow-makers keep these murderous machines already prepared, and the 'Chinese sometimes purchase them to guard their houses in their 'absence.'

The case of the Sutee, of which we shall presently have to speak, is but another phase of this '*one great delirium*,' as it has been justly called. It has its parallel alike in Africa and among the negroes of Polynesia:—'It is the custom here (in Jenna),' says Mr. Lander, 'when 'a governor dies, for two of his favourite wives to quit the world on the 'same day, in order that he may have a little pleasant social company 'in a future state; but the late governor's devoted wives had no 'ambition or inclination to follow their venerable husband to the grave, 'and went and hid themselves before the funeral ceremonies were 'performed, and have remained concealed ever since, with the remainder 'of his women. To-day, however, one of these unfortunates,—she to 'whom our house belongs,—was discovered in her hiding place at the 'present governor's, and the alternative of a poisoned chalice, or to 'have her head broken by the club of the fetish-priest, was offered her. 'She has chosen the former mode of dying, as being the less terrible of 'the two.'—*Journal of an Expedition to explore the Course and Termination of the Niger*, vol. i, pp. 92–3.

'As a chief's wives are strangled for the sake of exemplifying their 'fidelity and accompanying him to the invisible world, so this kind of 'death is often imposed upon courtiers and aides-de-camp, and always 'considered an honour and distinction. One reason of many, and 'perhaps the greatest, for strangling the wives of chiefs who have 'children surviving him, is that it is taken for a certain proof that 'these children are legitimate, and claim their rights as vasus to the 'places to which their deceased mothers belonged. If a mother neglected 'being strangled, it would leave a doubt in the minds of the people as 'to her fidelity; and if any of her children were to go to the places she 'belonged to, and claim property as their right, the owners would 'immediately embrace the opportunity of upbraiding the vasu with 'his mother being an unchaste woman, and saying that they would 'not allow him to carry anything off, because the infidelity of his mother 'cut off all his claim and rights as a vasu, and that it was an undeniable 'proof of her loving some other man better than his father, that she 'had not been buried with him. The whole thirty of Tui Kila-Kila's 'brother's wives wished to be strangled; but, being a little wiser than 'the generality of his countrymen, and not led away by the customs of 'his country, Tui Kila-Kila advised all who had borne children to his 'brother to be strangled, as a matter of course. On the other hand, he said 'that the young women who had borne no children had no occasion to 'sacrifice their lives, knowing that they would make himself very good 'wives, and add greatly to his advantage—the greatness of a chief 'being estimated, in a measure, by the number of his women.

'Fourteen of these women readily acceded to this proposal, and, as 'far as I could learn, were extremely happy to escape with their lives, 'especially in such a reputable way in the eyes of the world, being backed 'by the advice and opinion of such a great prince as Tui Kila-Kila, 'whose infallibility dared not be questioned. But one young girl (who 'made up the fifteen that were to be saved, and on whose account it 'was always supposed, more than for any other reason, he proposed 'to save the others, so as to come at the object of his desire) dared to ques'tion his opinion of the propriety of living and violating the laws of betroth'ment, and demanded the privilege of being strangled. She asked 'Tui Kila-Kila where was the man she cared or was worthy of living 'for now that his brother was dead? Tui Kila-Kila was so piqued at 'this reflection on his inferiority to his deceased brother, that he ordered 'the two women, whose office it was to strangle her, to haul tight at 'each end of the strip of cloth previously placed round her neck, which 'they obeyed; and as soon as she began to show symptoms of agony, 'he ordered them to slacken it, thinking, as she had tasted partially 'the pangs of death, she would repent of her foolishness; but with 'her it was different, for she seized the ends, and began hauling tight 'again, so as to complete what the stranglers had begun; and then 'the chief was satisfied with her foolish obstinacy, as he called it, and 'told the women to settle her quickly. This young woman was renowned 'for her beauty, and certainly she must have been as completely so as

'possible for a human being to be, except that she was not white,—if 'that has any thing to do with it,—because, when I pointed out sym- 'metrical forms, and asked if she was anything like them, they always 'said she was far superior.'—*Journal of a Cruize among the Islands of the Western Pacific, including the Feejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro Races, in Her Majesty's Ship Havannah. By John Elphinstone Erskine, Captain R.N. With Maps and Plates. John Murray.*

Those heterodox Hindoos, the Jains, would appear to have, perhaps rather from a spirit of opposition to Brahminic customs than from any other cause, juster ideas than are usual upon this subject. According to the account collected from a priest of the sect at Mudgeri, which is printed in the ninth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, 'they say, that 'the foolish people of other tribes, being deficient in sacred knowledge, 'spend money in vain on account of deceased relations: for how can 'a dead man feel satisfaction in ceremonies, and in the feeding of others ? '—"even a lamp no longer gives light by pouring more oil into it, 'after its flame is once extinguished,"—therefore it is vain to make 'feasts and ceremonies for the dead; and if it be wished to please 'relations, it is best to do so while they are yet living. "What a man 'drinketh, giveth, and eateth in this world is of advantage to him, but 'he carrieth nothing with him at his end."' These Jains might have expressed their ideas in the words of the British poet,—

For in the silent grave no conversation,
No joyful tread of friends, no voice of lovers,
No careful father's counsel,—nothing's heard,
For nothing is,—but all oblivion,
Dust, and an endless darkness![1]

[1] Beaumont and Fletcher, *Thierry and Theodoret*, Act iv, Scene 1.

CHAPTER IX

THE STATE AFTER DEATH—SHRÂDDH—BHOOTS—OTHER POPULAR BELIEFS

It is laid down in the Gurood Poorân[1] and other Hindoo scriptures, that, on the occurrence of a death, the son or other heir of the deceased must offer lump-offerings, and that if he neglect to do so the spirit passes into the state of a goblin. We have described the manner in which the first six of these offerings are made. If, after the fourth lump has been offered, the obsequies proceed no further—if, for example, any cause occur to prevent cremation—the spirit, it is believed, remains a Bhoot. Similarly, if six lumps only be offered, the spirit remains a Pret. For twelve days the soul, it is supposed, is seated on the eaves of the house in which it has parted from the human body. At sunset, therefore, the compassionate relatives place upon the roof for its subsistence a vessel of water and another of milk. Other accounts fix the residence of the soul, during this calamitous period, at the place of the funeral pile, or at cross-roads ; and some assert that it dwells alternately in the elements of fire, air, and water, and in the house which was its home.[2]

[1] [' The *Garuda* as well as the late and unimportant *Agni Purāṇas* 'practically constitute abstracts of the *Mahābhārata* and *Harivaṃśa*.' Macdonell, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 300. The *Garuḍa Purāṇa* is read by a Brāhman in the place where death takes place : its recitation helps the soul to attain Svarga Loka.]

[2] There is, so to speak, a fresh trodden way between the body and the soul which has just forsaken, and, according to that Jewish legend which may rest on a very deep truth, lingers for a while and hovers near the tabernacle where it has dwelt so long, and to which it knows itself bound by links that even now have not been divided for ever. Even science itself has arrived at the conjecture, that the last echoes of life ring in the body much longer than is commonly supposed ; that for a while it is full of the reminiscences of life. Out of this we may explain how it so frequently comes to pass, that all which marked the

One lump-offering should be made daily, until the tenth day from the day of decease, for the construction of a new body for the Pret. The body, at the end of that time, attains to the size of the upper joint of a man's thumb. On the tenth day a lump should be offered for the purpose of satisfying the hunger and thirst which the Pret now begins to feel. The common practice in Goozerat, at the present time, is to make the lump-offering ten times on the tenth day.[1]

Shrâddh must be performed on the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth day succeeding the decease, and afterwards monthly on the day of the month on which the death occurred, and yearly on its anniversary. The son who neglects to perform shrâddh dies childless, and expiates the sin amid the torments of hell. The gifts which are offered in shrâddh, are for the purpose of supplying the necessities of the Prets in their painful journey to the city of Yuma. They are conveyed by the god of the waters to Krishn, who, in turn, consigns them to the sun—the all-beholding Nârâyun—by whom they are delivered to the spirits of the deceased. A bed presented at this time to Brahmins procures for the Pret a litter to ride in; shoes, umbrellas, and fans, are also acceptable offerings, and lamps should be suspended in the temples of Shiva to light the Pret on his road.

Shrâddh must be performed beside a reservoir or on the banks of a river. The sacrificer shaves his face, and, holding in his hand a copper cup containing water, with sesamum and sacrificial grass,[2] he repeats the names of his progenitors, both paternal and maternal, sprinkling water as he repeats each

death-struggle passes presently away, and the true image of the departed, the image it may be of years long before, re-appears in perfect calmness and in almost ideal beauty.—*Trench's 'Notes on the Miracles,'* fourth edition, p. 187.

[1] [The Hindu belief is, that by feeding on the *Piṇḍa*, or ball of cooked rice, the spirit acquires a *sthūla śarīra*, or subtle body, which transforms it from a *preta*, or wandering ghost, to a *pitri*, or glorified ancestor. This rite is termed *sapiṇḍī karaṇa*. The *śrāddha* ceremonies go on for ten days, then they are repeated monthly and after that annually on the anniversary of the decease. For a concise account of the Vedic ritual, as given in the *Manu Smriti*, see L. D. Barnett, *Antiquities of India*, 1913, pp. 147 ff. There are various local variations.]

[2] [Tila, *Sesamum indicum*; and darbha or kuśa, *poa cynosuroides*.]

name. The ceremony, which is called 'Turpun,' has been already described in detail. The heir now forms an image of the deceased with sacrificial grass, washes it, and strews it with flowers. A similar representation of a Vishwa Dev[1] is also made to witness the performance of the rite. The sacrificer sprinkles these, muttering a charm which has been taught him by his family priest, and which is supposed to call the Dev and the soul of the deceased into the figures. A Shâlagrâm stone is placed beside them to represent Vishnoo, and the three are worshipped with the usual ceremonies. Food is then set before the grass figures and the Shâlagrâm, and the heir, sprinkling them once more, repeats the charm which is supposed to dismiss their inhabitants. The grass is thrown before a cow to be eaten. These rites performed, the relations and neighbours of the deceased are entertained, and Brahmins feasted according to the means of the sacrificer.[2]

If a man be sonless he must, in his own life-time perform shrâddh, and offer lump-offerings for the repose of his soul; and he whose obsequies have not been performed either remains, as we have seen, a hungry ghost, wandering miserably day and night, or is born again and again in the form of an insect, or is conceived in the womb of a woman, and dies before beholding the light, or is born only to die. In other cases of non-performance or mis-performance of obsequies, the soul, having suffered certain pains in hell, returns to earth in goblin form to torment those whose neglect has occasioned its misfortunes. It becomes a fever or other disease to afflict them, it causes quarrels among brothers, produces the death of cattle, prevents the birth of male children, excites wicked and murderous thoughts, and destroys men's faith in the

[1] [*Viśve devāḥ*, 'a factitious sacrificial group, meant to represent all the gods in order that none should be excluded in laudations intended to be addressed to all', Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 130.]

[2] It may be noticed that the word 'superstitio' (the etymology of which has been so much controverted), has been supposed by some to mean the duty of *survivors*, as such, to their ancestors. Under this supposition the importance attached in the Hindoo law to the worship of Peetrees, or forefathers, throws a light upon the primary sense of that word.—Vide *Morris's Essay towards the Conversion of Hindoos*, p. 196.

sacred writings, in images of Devs, in holy places of pilgrimage, and even in thrice holy Brahmins.[1]

The Gurood Poorân contains the further information, that if at the time of his death a man have had his affections excessively fixed on any object of earthly enjoyment, as his son, his wife, or his property, his soul in that case does not readily part from his body, but quits it after a violent struggle, and becomes a Bhoot. The suicide, he who dies of the bite of a snake, or

[1] The opinion that the happiness of the spirits of deceased persons is affected by the neglect of friends, in regard to the performance of their funeral rites, is not confined to India. Mr. Grose, the antiquary (as quoted by Brand), has the following :—

'Some ghosts of murdered persons, whose bodies have been secretly 'buried, cannot be at ease till their bones have been taken up, and 'deposited in consecrated ground, with all the rites of Christian burial. 'This idea is the remains of a very old piece of heathen superstition : 'the ancients believed that Charon was not permitted to ferry over 'the ghosts of unburied persons, but that they wandered up and down 'the banks of the river Styx for an hundred years, after which they 'were admitted to a passage.'

Connected with this belief, is the following superstition on the death of great men :—'A superstition prevails among the lower classes of 'many parts of Worcestershire that, when storms, heavy rains, or other 'elemental strife takes place at the death of any great man, the spirit 'of the storm will not be appeased till the moment of burial. This 'superstition gained great strength on the occasion of the Duke of 'Wellington's funeral, when, after some weeks of heavy rain, and one 'of the highest floods ever known in this country, the skies began to 'clear, and both rain and flood abated. The storms which have been 'noticed to take place at the time of the death of many great men known 'to our history, may have had something to do with the formation of 'this curious notion in the minds of the vulgar. It was a common 'observation hereabout in the week before the interment of his grace, '"Oh, the rain won't give over till the duke is buried."'—*Notes and Queries*.

The Demauno (or oracular priest) of the Râjmuhâl Hills is an exception to the rule. He must *not* be buried.

'When a Demauno dies, his body is carried into the jungles, and 'placed under the shade of a tree, where it is covered with leaves and 'branches, and left on the bedstead in which he died. The objection to 'interring his remains is a superstitious idea that he becomes a devil, 'and that, if buried, he would return and destroy the inhabitants of 'the village; whereas, by placing the body under a tree, he is thus 'compelled to play the devil in some other.'—Vide *Asiatic Researches*, v, p. 70.

is struck by lightning, or drowned, or crushed by the fall of earth,—he, in fact, who meets with any kind of sudden and miserable death, becomes a Bhoot. He who dies in an upper room or in a bed, instead of being laid out upon the ground, becomes a Bhoot, as does he who after death is defiled by the touch of a Shoodra or any other cause. There are many other modes in which the spirits of deceased men become Bhoots. In the Kurum Kând [1] of the Veds, however, expiatory rites are appointed for such cases, of 'death out of season,' which if his heir employ, the spirit of the deceased is preserved from passing into the state of a Bhoot.[2]

Before proceeding to consider the state of the souls which pass to the upper or lower loks,—the Devs of Swerga, and the denizens of Pâtâl,—it will be convenient that we should devote a few pages to the Bhoots,—those 'perturbed spirits' who wander still in this world of men.

Bhoots and Prets reside, it is said, in the place where funeral piles are erected, in trees which are not used for sacrificial purposes, such as the tamarind and the acacia, in desert places, at the spot where death occurred, or at cross-roads,—for which reason people set at these places food for the use of the Bhoot.[3]

[1] [The *Karma Mimâṃsa Sûtras* of Jaimini, dealing with ceremonies and the rewards resulting from their performance.]

[2] Not only the unburied, but those also who died before their time were, in the opinion of the ancient Greeks, compelled to wander in the state of goblins. 'The souls, then,' says Bishop Pearson, 'of those whose 'bodies were unburied were thought to be kept out of Hades till their 'funerals were performed, and the souls of those who died an untimely 'or violent death, were kept from the same place until the time of their 'natural death should come.' [Milton, *Comus*, 470 ff. :

Such are those thick and gloomy shadows damp
Oft seen in charnel-vaults and sepulchres,
Lingering and sitting by a new-made grave,
As loath to leave the body that it loved.

The idea is taken from the *Phaedo* of Plato.]

[3] The Arabian Jinn also frequents cross-roads ; and the fairies of the Scottish low-lands carry bows made of the ribs of a man buried *where three lairds' lands meet.* See also *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act iii, sc. 2 :—

damned spirits all,
That in cross-ways and floods have burial,

He is most at a loss for water to drink. The pipe of his throat is, it is said, the size of the eye of a needle, and he is continually thirsty enough to drink twelve gallons of water. The watchmen of Wuroon Dev,[1] however, are stationed wherever there is water, to prevent the Bhoots from drinking, and their thirst is therefore as continual as it is intense. The Bhoots feed upon all kinds of refuse. The goblin of the best class, he, that is to say, whose funeral ceremonies have been duly performed, but who has been debarred from liberation by his own intense affection for earthly objects, is called a 'Poorwuj Dev,'[2] and resides in his own house or in a sacred fig-tree.[3]

The powers which Bhoots and Prets exercise are the following:—They take possession of a corpse, and speak through its mouth; they exhibit themselves in the form which they possessed when living; they enter into a living man, and cause him to speak as they please; sometimes they afflict him with fever, or various other diseases; sometimes they assume the forms of animals, and frighten people by suddenly vanishing in a flash of fire; sometimes, remaining invisible, they speak in whispers. A Bhoot has been known to come to fisticuffs with a man, and to carry a man off and set him down in a distant

'Desert places,' in Goozerat, correspond exactly with the 'dry places,' (ἀνύδρων τόπων) assigned to the evil spirits in Matthew xii. 43, Luke xi. 24.

'In the dialogue of Dives and Pauper, printed by Richard Pynson, 'in 1493, among the superstitions then in use at the beginning of the 'year, the following is mentioned:—"Alle that take hede to dysmal 'dayes, or use nyce observances in the newe moone, or in the new yeere, '*as setting of mete or drynke by nighte on the benche to fede alholde or* '*gobelyn.*'—*Vide* Brand.

1 [Varuṇa Deva, Regent of the Ocean.]

2 [Skt. *Pūrvaja*, ancestor. According to the Jains, the spirit of a man who is attached to a house, haunts it after death in the form of a serpent. The householder propitiates it by annually feeding a Brāhman.]

3 See Note A, at the end of this chapter, for notices of Bhoots in other parts of India. Our remarks upon the subject in the text are derived principally from an essay entitled, *Bhoot Nibundh*, or *The Destroyer of Superstitions regarding Daimons*, which was written in the language of Goozerat, by Treewâdee Dulputrâm Dâyâ, a Shreemâlee Brahmin, of Jhâlâwâr, and obtained the prize of the Goozerat Vernacular Society, for A. D. 1849. An English translation, by the author of the present work, who was then secretary to the society, was published at Bombay A. D. 1850.

place. It is even said that women are sometimes found with child by Bhoots.[1]

The Jain Shâstras teach a different doctrine in regard to spirits from that which is taught by the Poorâns.[2] They assert

[1] In every age and country, it appears, ladies have been glad to cover a *faux pas* by the assertion of supernatural visitation. 'When Demaratus 'had thus spoken,' says Herodotus, 'his mother answered him in this 'manner :—" Son, because you so earnestly desire me to speak the truth, 'I shall conceal nothing from you. The third night after Ariston had 'conducted me home to his house, a phantom, entirely like him in shape, 'entered my chamber, and having lain with me, put a crown on my head, 'and went out again." ' Similarly in the Bacchæ of Euripides, the hero says :—

'For that the sisters of my mother (least
Becomes it them) declared that not from Jove
I sprung, but pregnant by some mortal's love
That Semele on Jove had falsely charged
Her fault, the poor device of Cadmus.'

. . . .

In British History Merlin, and Arthur himself, were both the sons of Bhoots. *Vide* Geoffrey's *History*, Book vi, Chap. xviii, and Book viii, Chap. xix, to the former of which cases Spenser thus alludes :—

And soothe men say that he was not the sonne
  Of mortal sire or other living wighte,
But wondrously begotten and begonne
  By false illusion of a guileful sprite
On a faire ladye nun.

For Scotland, see the story of the Lady of Drummelziar and the Spirit of the Tweed.—Note M., *Lay of the Last Minstrel*. For India, see the case of Sheelâditya in our own work ; those also of Usa and Anirud, and of Kamala Kunweri, in Captain Westmacott's Article on Chardwar in Assam, *Journal Bengal Asiatic Society*, iv, 187, *et seq.* Butler thus alludes to these stories :—

Not as the ancient heroes did,
Who, that their base births might be hid,
(Knowing that they were of doubtful gender,
And that they came in at a windore)
Made Jupiter himself, and others
O' th' gods, gallants to their own mothers,
To get on them a race of champions,
(Of which old Homer first made lampoons.)
Hudibras, Part I, Canto ii, v. 211-8.

[2] [According to Jain mythology, the demons of Pātāla are divided into Bhavanapati and Vyantara. Lower down are the Vāṇavyantara.

that there are eight kinds of Vyuntur Devs, and eight of Wân-Vyuntur Devs, who reside below the earth. Each of these has two Indras, or sovereigns, ruling respectively the northern and southern regions, and who are in colour black, white, or blue. The Vyuntur and Wân-Vyuntur Devs appear upon earth, where they possess the bodies of men, exhibit themselves in various shapes, and perform many strange feats, whence their common name of Kootohulee (or surprising) Devs. Below them reside the Bhuwunputee Devs, who, also, sometimes appear on earth. Below them again are the Nârkina or infernal spirits. Above this earth, in the atmosphere, five kinds of 'Devs of splendour' reside :—the sun, moon, stars and others. Above them, in twelve Dev-Loks, the Devs who ride in chariots dwell ; these, sometimes drawn by their own desire, or compelled by charms, appear in the world ; but they do harm to no one. Above them are nine classes of Griveks, and five of Unootur Veemânees. They are of great power and never visit the earth. Men who have lived a life of austerity and righteousness are born again in these classes of upper or lower Devs, but the sinner is not born in them. Of old, a man who had performed the rite of 'Uthum'[1] by fasting for three days, acquired the power of calling Devs to him, but now, it is said, these Devs never visit the earth at any one's call.[2]

The Nāraki torture the offending *jīva* in Hell. In Svarga or Heaven there are two classes of gods, Jyotishi and Vimāṇavāsi. The latter fall into three divisions, those in Devaloka, Graiveyika, and Anuttaravimāna. See *The Heart of Jainism*, by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, chapter xiv (Oxford, 1915).]

[1] [Skt. *Ashṭama*, a fast of eight meals, or three days, observed by the Jains.]

[2] 'This first aerial heaven,' says Bishop Pearson, 'where God setteth 'up his pavilion, where "he maketh the clouds his chariot, and walketh 'upon the wings of the wind," is not so far inferior in place as it is in 'glory to the next, the seat of the sun and moon, the two great lights, 'and stars innumerable far greater than the one of them. And yet that 'second heaven is not so far above the first as beneath the "third" 'into which St. Paul was caught. The brightness of the sun doth not 'so far surpass the blackness of a wandering cloud, as the glory of that 'heaven of presence surmounts the fading beauty of the starry firmament. 'For in this great temple of the world, in which the Son of God is the High-'Priest, the heaven which we see is but the veil, and that which is above,

The most prominent feature in the popular conception of Bhoots is that which relates to the possession of human beings by spirits, denizens of an invisible world. Upon the extensive and difficult general question of the manner in which spirits have been said, in other countries, and at other times, to possess human beings, or of the degree of power which they have exercised over those subject to their influence, it would be little becoming in us to enter,[1] but it is necessary to caution our readers that in our account of possessions in Goozerat, we rely upon a work written by a person professedly incredulous, with the acknowledged view of teaching his countrymen that there is nothing in the matter but what may be readily accounted for on ordinary grounds.[2]

'If one were to pronounce,' says our author, 'that no such 'being as a Bhoot existed, this would be a contradiction of the 'Hindoo scriptures. In the Christian scriptures, and in the 'Mohummedan, the existence of such spirits is also admitted; 'the assertion that they do exist, therefore, cannot be pro-'nounced to be a falsehood.[3] Perhaps of ten thousand cases 'in which possessions by spirits have been asserted, one case 'may have been actually true; thus much I would admit as 'probable, confiding in the scriptures, but as far as my per-'sonal observation extends, it has never, I am bound to say, 'included a single case which could be authenticated.

'the Holy of Holies. This veil indeed is rich and glorious, but one day 'to be rent, and then to admit us into a far greater glory, even to the 'mercy-seat and cherubim. For this third heaven is the proper habitation 'of the blessed angels, which constantly attend upon the throne.'

[1] See, however, for a few authorities on the subject, Note B, at the end of this Chapter. For ourselves, we cannot, to use Dr. Johnson's words, account it 'more strange that there should be evil spirits, than evil 'men: evil unembodied spirits, than evil embodied spirits;' and we can have no hesitation in believing that possessions have occurred, whether or not they do now occur.

[2] *Vide* Note 3, p. 375.

[3] *Vide* Bishop Hall's *Contemplations*:—'That there have been such 'apparitions of spirits, both good and evil, hath ever been a truth 'undoubtedly received of Pagans, Jews, Christians; although in the 'blind times of superstition, there was much collusion mixed with some 'verities; crafty men and lying spirits agreeing to abuse the credulous 'world.'

'As far as the Hindoo scriptures are concerned, the following appears to me to be the truth :—It is stated there that unclean persons, and those who lie, or are guilty of other sins, die, and after death become goblins, and suffer many calamities. The object is merely to give a sanction to the injunction against uncleanness and sin. Similarly, when it is stated that Bhoots take possession of persons whose lives are evil. Such I conclude to be the intention of the composers of the scriptures, but people have become very superstitious, and great evil has been the result. It seems to me better, therefore, that the belief in Bhoots should not exist. As it is said, superstition is the Bhoot and fear is the Dâkin (witch). If people understood what this really means, they would be saved much annoyance.'

'When a person,' says our author in another place, 'gets wind into his head and loses his spirits, and sits silent and solitary, his relations and neighbours ask him, "What is the matter?" He will say that he does not know what can be the matter with him, but that he feels inclined to cry. The enquirers will ask the sufferer where he has been to, and whether he has met with anything startling or alarming. He then begins to consider with himself. Others come and ask him similar questions, and they worry him until he begins to blubber in downright earnest. His friends then come to a decision upon his case, and pronounce him to be possessed by a Bhoot, and the poor man himself believes that it is so. Presently he begins to tremble, and at last becomes convulsed to such a degree that if a person who is not a believer in Bhoots were to try and tremble like him he would not be able to do it, at any rate without great practice. The sufferer firmly believes that the Bhoot which possesses him is causing him to tremble, and that his convulsions are wholly independent of any will of his own.[1]

1 The following description of what occurs in Tinnevelly is very similar to this :—'If the person happen to feel the commencement of the shivering fit of an ague, or the vertigo of a bilious headache, his untutored imagination teaches him to think himself possessed. He then sways his head from side to side, fixes his eyes into a stare, puts

'A Brahmin, a relation of mine,' continues the essayist, 'dying, his spirit, seven months afterwards, possessed his wife, 'and caused her to tremble. The woman was naturally a 'person of mild temper and weak frame of body; in her fit, 'however, she became so violent that no one dared to answer 'or oppose her. A friend of the deceased having visited the 'house, the woman said to him, "Ah! brother, recollect what 'it was I told you that day when we were alone together." 'He said "Yes, I recollect." A Wâneeo neighbour at another 'time came to the house. The woman said to him "Wâneeo! 'why have you not yet told my wife about the money I gave 'you?" The man said, "Yes! I have got seventy-five 'rupees and a half belonging to you; I will pay your wife." 'The woman went on thus, having a fit every day, and people 'were surprised at her saying such things as the above. 'I examined into the matter, and it appeared that the Brah-'min used continually to converse with his friend in private, 'and that the woman, aware of this, had spoken at a venture, 'but the friend was satisfied that she alluded to a conversation 'in which the Brahmin had mentioned his fears that being 'sonless he would not obtain liberation after death, because 'it was laid down in the Shâstras that :—

The sonless obtains not liberation;
Paradise is not for him—is not for him.

'Everybody suspected that the Wâneeo had, in his pos-'session, money belonging to the deceased, a fact which 'originated in the woman's mind the idea of making the 'demand, and the Wâneeo, believing that the Bhoot of the 'Brahmin had entered the body of his wife, thought it safer

'himself into a posture, and begins the maniac dance; and the by-'standers run for flowers and fruit for an offering, or a cock or goat to 'sacrifice to his honour.' See *The Tinnevelly Shanars*, by the Rev. R. Caldwell, B.A., printed for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in A. D. 1850. Compare with the text that extremely humorous scene in *Twelfth Night*, the 4th of the 3rd Act, where Malvolio is accused of being possessed. His madness is unlike that of the Bhoot-possessed in that he is merry and not sad, but Olivia helps us out of this difficulty when she says,—

'I am mad as he,
If sad and merry madness equal be.'

'to admit the truth at once.[1] When I went to the house one 'day, the people said to me, "Ask, if you have any question 'to put, and you will get a satisfactory answer." The woman 'then addressed me as her husband had been in the habit of 'doing. I said, "There is some mistake in the account 'between you and me. I am very glad you have come, as you 'can set it right." The woman, trembling all the time, began 'to cast up the account in her head, repeating it aloud. 'I said to her, "Here is the account book in your own hand-'writing. Read me what you have written." The woman 'said, "I can't read what's written in account books." 'Everybody then began to laugh. I was satisfied that the 'idea of a possession was in this case false. The woman could 'not give an answer to any of the questions I put to her. 'Other people asked her what were the names of her husband's 'maternal and paternal uncles, and she answered them 'glibly; but I enquired what was the name of the book which 'I and her husband had been reading together on such and 'such a day, and she could make no reply. I then understood 'that there was no difficulty in her answering such questions as those which she had shewn herself able to answer.'

It is customary in Goozerat, where people wish to prevent the removal of a jungle tree, that they should paint a trident

[1] 'There is a strong disposition in the human breast to carry on an 'intercourse with the spirits of the departed. The fulfilment of their 'last wills, which has devolved on us; the care of their children, in 'whom even their features and characters actually survive; the 'development of the schemes which they have left on our hands im-'perfect; the enjoyment of the blessings they have bequeathed us; 'all knit them to us: our very dreams will not permit us, even if we 'would, to banish them from our presence; our traditions are peopled 'with them; the inscriptions on our tombstones, now gathered about 'our churches, the scene of our constant resort—of old ranged along the 'highway-side, amidst the concourse of the gate—rude as those inscrip-'tions often are, and the more to my present purpose for being so, 'testify the passion there is in the hearts of men to hold dialogues with 'the dead; the treatises of the most literary nations, and the customs 'and superstitions of the most savage, alike bespeak it.'—*Four Sermons preached before the University of Cambridge, in November*, 1849, *by the Rev. J. J. Blunt, B.D., Margaret Professor of Divinity*, p. 2.

upon it with vermilion, or, if that be inconvenient, that they should collect a number of stones and throw them down at the root of the tree. Whoever, after this, passes by, is sure to add a stone or two to the heap, believing the place to be the residence of a Bhoot. Some, too, throw without taking heed to what they are doing. If the place be one where stones are not easily procurable, a bit of old rag is thrown so as to adhere to the tree, and every one who passes by follows the example once set. They call the spot the 'Rag-uncle's.' In places where trees are scarce these uncles are very common, and people are much annoyed with the dread of touching them. The name 'uncle' is given to the Bhoot by women as a term of respect. Men are less superstitious, but no woman ever thinks of passing one of these places without adding at least one stone to the heap, or one rag to the Rag-uncle's tree. If no rag be forthcoming, she will pull a few threads out of her dress and use these instead. In case a woman have forgotten to perform this ceremony she will be overcome with fear of the consequences, begin to tremble, and cry out that she is 'uncle,' and that he has taken possession of her body and is vexing her because she neglected to add a stone to his heap.[1] Similarly, whenever in any place there is a hillock or mound upon which a few stones have been piled one above the other, every passer-by considers himself bound to add a stone to the heap, considering that the spot is some Dev's residence, and that if any one raise a little temple there his house will flourish. Such monuments

[1] Our own sagacious King James accounts for the women being more superstitious, thus—

'The reason is easy, for as that sex is frailer than man is, so is it 'easier to be entrapped in these gross snares of the Divell, as was over 'well proved to be true by the serpent's deceiving of Eva at the beginning, which makes him homelier with that sexe sensine.'

Colonel Tod describes a custom similar to this in Harawati:—'Half-way, we passed a roofless shed of loose stones, containing the 'divinity of the Bhils; it is in the midst of a grove of thorny, tangled 'brushwood, whose boughs were here and there decorated with shreds 'of various coloured cloth, offerings of the traveller to the forest divinity 'for protection against evil spirits, by which I suppose the Bhils 'themselves are meant.' He adds, in a note, 'The same practice is 'described by Park as existing in Africa.'—*Annals of Rajasthan*, Oxford, 1920, iii. 1703, with the note of the editor.

are also set up in places where a person has been slain or wounded.[1]

[1] 'Cairns' of this kind are frequently connected with the dead—

On many a cairn's grey pyramid,
Where urns of mighty chiefs lie hid,

says Scott, vide *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, Canto iii, 29, and Note 2, v.

Doorgâwutee, Queen Regent of Gurh Mundela, was killed in action against the troops of Akbar, under Asuf Khan, or rather, as an inscription of her family asserts (Vide *As. Res.* xv, p. 437), 'Doorgâwutee, who was 'mounted on an elephant, severed her own head with a scimitar she 'held in her hand; she reached the supreme spirit: pierced the sun's 'orb.' [For the story of Rānī Durgāvatī, regent of Gondwāna, who stabbed herself after being defeated by Āsaf Khān, between Garhā and Mandlā in the Jabalpur district, 1564, see V. A. Smith, *Akbar* (1917), p. 69 ff.; Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Oxford, 1920, ii. 747.] 'She 'was interred at the place where she fell' (says a writer in *Ben. As. Soc. Journal*, vi, 628), 'and on her tomb to this day the passing stranger 'thinks it necessary to place, as a votive offering, one of the fairest he 'can find of those beautiful specimens of white crystal in which the hills 'in this quarter abound. Two rocks lie by her side, which are supposed 'by the people to be her drums converted into stone; and strange stories 'are told of their being still occasionally heard to sound in the stillness 'of the night by the people of the nearest villages.'

'The well-known practice among the Highlanders,' says Logan, in his *Scottish Gael*, ii, 371, 'of throwing a stone to a cairn on passing, is 'connected with two different feelings. In the one case, it arose from 'the respect which was had for the deceased, whose memory they wished 'to prolong by increasing the size of his funeral mount, and hence arose 'a saying intended to gratify a person while alive that the speaker 'should not fail to add stones to the cairn. It would appear that the 'soul was considered much pleased with this attention, and with the 'honour of a great monument, in which respect the old Germans seem 'to have differed from the Celts, for they raised sods of earth only above 'the grave, conceiving that large monuments were grievous to the 'deceased. The other motive for throwing stones to augment a cairn 'was to mark with execration the burial-place of a criminal, the practice, 'according to Dr. Smith, having been instituted by the Druids. It is 'curious that the same method should be adopted with views so different; 'yet the fact is so, and the author has often, in his youth, *passed the grave 'of a suicide, on which, according to custom, he never failed to fling a stone. 'The true motive, in this case, seems to have been to appease the spirit 'which, by the Celtic Mythology, was doomed to hover beside the unhallowed 'sepulchre.*'

The following occurs in the notes to an Aberdeenshire poem, called 'the Don,' in reference to the district of Alford:—

The Poorwuj Dev, like the Etruscan Lar, or the Grecian hero, is regarded as hovering about his former abode, averting dangers from the inhabitants and bestowing blessings upon them. He frequently appears in the character of a serpent, and is then treated with great respect by the inmates of the house near which he resides. It is common belief in Goozerat that serpents are always to be found wherever a hoard is buried, and that these are the Bhoots of the deceased owners

'In these bounds are many great cairns, such as that of Lenturk, so 'much talked of; they are of enormous size; some people think they 'have been beacons to give warning in time of danger, but as many of 'them are situated in low places, I suppose they are the tombs of some 'great men who have been benefactors to the country where they lived. 'It is a common saying among the vulgar people to this day, when any 'person makes them a gift, "God I wat, gin I live ahint you, I'se add 'a stane to your cairn," and to this day many old people never pass by 'any of these cairns without throwing a stone to it. Many think that 'the spirit hovers about the place where the body is interred, and the 'higher the cairn is raised, the spirit is raised the higher from earth to 'heaven.'

Hawke Locker, in his *Views in Spain* (quoted in Ellis's edition of Brand's *Popular Antiquities*), speaking of Grenadilla, says, 'We passed 'two or three crosses, which marked the spot where some unfortunate 'wretches had met a violent death by the way. Some of these probably 'were killed by accident, but all were described as so many barbarous 'murders, and the fluency of the narrative proved that we were listening 'to a tale which had been told a hundred times before. The very ancient 'custom of casting a stone upon these untimely graves is still observed 'throughout Spain. Affection, or superstition, induces many to offer 'this tribute, accompanied by a silent prayer for the dead; but even 'a mere stranger, exempt from such motives, may find a gratification 'in adding a stone to the heap, from that veneration for the dead 'which seems to be inherent in our constitution.'

In the instance we are about to quote, the stone-throwers were actuated by a very different feeling; it is from Lepsius's *Letters from Egypt*, (*Bohn*, p. 216.)

'Before entering this mountain range (Gebel el Mageqa) we came 'to a place covered with heaps of stones, which might be supposed to 'be barrows, though no one lies buried beneath them. Whenever the 'date-merchants come this road, many of whom we met the following 'morning with their large round plaited straw baskets, their camel-'drivers, at this spot, demand a trifle from them. He who will give 'nothing has a cenotaph, such as this, erected to him out of the surround-'ing stones, as a bad-omen for his hard-heartedness. We met with 'a similar assemblage of tombs in the desert of Korusko.'

who have remained upon earth from affection to their wealth.

'Two guests,' says our author, 'came once on a time to 'the house of a Shrâwuk Wâneeo. The master of the house 'was at the market, and his wife, after she had made her 'friends sit down, was obliged to go away to the well for 'water. While the guests sat waiting for the master of the 'house a large snake made its appearance. One of them 'jumped up and pinned it to the ground with a stick, while 'the other set to work to find a split bamboo, which people 'keep ready in their houses for taking hold of snakes with. 'Meanwhile the woman came back with the water, and seeing 'the snake pinned to the ground, cried out, "Let him go; let 'him go; he is our Poorwuj Dev; he used to get into my 'mother-in-law's head, and set her a-trembling, and then he 'would mention the name of my father-in-law, who died some 'time ago, and say that he was he. He said also that his soul 'had been wrapped up in his property, on which account he 'had become a snake and was going to live in the house. 'One day he bit a neighbour of ours, and the Juttee came 'to cure the man. Poorwuj Dev then set the neighbour 'a-trembling, and said that he had bitten him because he fought 'with his son, and that he would quit him when he got secur-'ity that there should be no more quarrelling. In this way 'he quitted him. From that day forth if the snake go to our 'neighbours' houses no one molests him. If at any time you 'were to set him down at a place twenty miles off he would 'still come back to this very spot. He has often touched my 'foot, but he never bit me; and if I happen to be gone to draw 'water, and the child cries at home, he will rock him in his 'cradle. This I've seen him do many a time." In this way 'she prevented their interfering with the snake, and, releasing 'him, paid him obeisance. The guest, too, who had seized 'him, took off his turban, and said, "O! father snake, forgive 'my having pinned you to the earth. I am your child." 'After a short time, a cat having killed the snake, the people 'of the house took the pieces of it and burned them on a pyre, 'offering, in fire-sacrifice, a cocoa-nut and sandal-wood, with 'clarified butter.'

'A Brahmin, having purchased premises in the ancient 'town of Dholka, set to work to make excavations for a new 'building, and, in so doing, came upon a subterranean chamber, 'which contained a great deal of property. There was, 'however, a large snake stationed there to protect the treasure, 'which snake appeared to the Brahmin by night in a dream, 'and said to him, "This property is mine, and I live here for 'its protection; therefore you must not injure the chamber 'nor covet the treasure which it contains. If you do so, I will 'cut off all your posterity." In the morning, the Brahmin 'poured a vessel of hot oil into the chamber, so that the snake 'died. He then destroyed the chamber, having first removed 'the treasure, and burned the body of the snake in due form 'in the yard of his house. With the treasure he had thus 'obtained he erected splendid buildings, but he never had a 'son, and his daughter remained childless, and whoever 'received any part of the property, or became his servant, or 'acted as his agent or as his family priest, was childless too. 'These things happened, it is said, about forty years ago.'

Similar stories are very common in Goozerat, and it is, as we have said, the general belief that serpents are always to be found wherever a hoard is buried.[1]

For a description of the modes employed in Goozerat in the exorcism of Bhoots who are supposed to have taken possession of the bodies of living men, whether derived from the Kurum Kând of the Veds, or from Boudhist or Mohummedan sources, we must refer to the Bhoot Nibundh itself. Sometimes the relief of the sufferer is the point principally if not wholly regarded; at other times it is sought further to procure release from his painful wanderings for the 'extravagant and erring 'spirit.' One instance of each of these cases we now venture to lay before our readers.

'About thirty years ago,' says the essayist, 'a Chârun 'asserted a claim against the chief of Syelâ, in Kâteewâr, which 'the chief refused to liquidate. The bard thereupon, taking 'forty of his caste with him, went to Syelâ with the intention 'of sitting in "Dhurnâ" at the chief's door, and preventing

[1] There are several stories of the kind in the *Oriental Memoirs*, original edition, ii, 384, *et seq.*

'any one coming out or going in until the claim should be 'discharged. However, as they approached the town, the 'chief, becoming aware of their intention, caused the gates to 'be closed. The bards remained outside; for three days they 'abstained from food; on the fourth day they proceeded 'to perform "Trâgâ," as follows:—Some hacked their own 'arms; others decapitated three old women of the party, and 'hung their heads up at the gate as a garland. Certain of 'the women cut off their own breasts. The bards also pierced 'the throats of four of their old men with spikes, and they 'took two young girls by the heels, and dashed out their 'brains against the town gate. The Chârun, to whom the 'money was due, dressed himself in clothes wadded with 'cotton, which he steeped in oil, and then set on fire. He thus 'burned himself to death. But as he died, he cried out, "I 'am now dying; but I will become a headless ghost (Kuvees)[1] 'in the palace, and will take the chief's life, and cut off his 'posterity." After this sacrifice the rest of the bards returned 'home.

'On the third day after the Chârun's death his Bhoot 'threw the Rânee down stairs, so that she was very much 'injured. Many other persons also beheld the headless 'phantom in the palace. At last he entered the chief's head, 'and set him trembling. At night he would throw stones at 'the palace, and he killed a female servant outright. At 'length, in consequence of the various acts of oppression 'which he committed, no one dared to approach the chief's 'mansion, even in broad day-light. In order to exorcise the 'Bhoot, Jogees, Juttees,[2] Fukeers, Brahmins, mendicants of 'every class were sent for from many different places: but 'whatever person attempted a cure the Bhoot in the chief's 'body would immediately assail, and that so furiously that the 'exorcist's courage failed him. The Bhoot would also cause 'the chief to tear the flesh off his arms with his teeth. Besides 'this, four or five persons died of injuries received from the 'Bhoot; but no one had the power to expel him. At length

[1] [*Khabīṣa*, Arabic, a sprite or goblin, usually viewed as the ghost of a dead Musalmān.]

[2] [*Jati*, a wandering mendicant.]

'a foreign Juttee happening to come to that part of the country, 'the chief sent a carriage for him, and brought him with honor 'to his town. The Juttee was a person of great reputation for 'skill in charms and sorcery, and he was attended by seven fol-'lowers. Having procured various articles which he required 'he entered the mansion, and worshipped the Dev. First, he 'tied all round the house threads, which he had charged with 'a charm; then he sprinkled charmed milk and water all 'round; then he drove a charmed iron nail into the ground 'at each corner of the mansion, and two at the door. He 'purified the house, and established a Dev there, beside whom 'he placed a drawn sword, a lamp of clarified butter, and 'another of oil: he then sat down to mutter his charms. For 'forty-one days he continued thus employed, and every day 'he went to the funeral ground with many and various sacri-'ficial offerings. The chief lived in a separate room all this 'time, and continually fancied himself possessed, at which 'times he would say, "Ah! you shaven[1] fellow, you've come 'to turn me out, have you? I'm not going though; and 'what's more, I'll make you pay for it with your life." The 'Juttee sat in a room which was closely fastened up; but 'people say that when he was at his mutterings stones would 'fall thereupon, and strike the windows. When his prepara-'tions were finished, the Juttee caused his own people to bring 'the chief to the upper room which he used, and kept all 'others out of hearing distance. He sprinkled grain, and 'rapped upon a metal cup, in order to place the chief under 'the influence of the possessing spirit. The patient then 'began to be very violent, but the Juttee and his people spared 'no pains in thrashing him, until they had rendered him quite 'docile. Then the chief's servants were recalled, a sacrificial 'fire-pit was made, and a lime placed between it and the chief. 'The Juttee commanded the Bhoot to enter the lime. The 'possessed, however, said, "Who are you? If one of your 'Devs were to come I would not quit this person." Thus 'they went on from morning till noon. At last they came

[1] 'Peeled' would have been the term in England. *Vide* First Part of *Henry VI*, Act i, scene 3:—

Peel'd priest, dost thou command me to be shut out?

'down out of the mansion, and assembled in the open 'space in front of it, where they burned various kinds of 'incense, and sprinkled many charms, until they got the Bhoot 'out into the lime. When the lime began to jump about, the 'whole of the spectators praised the Juttee, crying out, "The 'Bhoot has gone into the lime! The Bhoot has gone into the 'lime!" The possessed person himself, when he saw the lime 'hopping about, was astonished, and left off trembling, being 'perfectly satisfied that the Bhoot had left his body and gone 'out into the lime. The Juttee then, in presence of all the 'people of the town, turned the Bhoot out by the eastern door. 'If the lime went off the road the Juttee would touch it with 'his stick and put it into the right way again. Several 'soldiers, with their swords drawn, followed, and drummers 'beating a warlike measure; they took the chief also with 'them. On the track of the Bhoot they sprinkled mustard 'and salt. When they had conveyed the Bhoot in this fashion 'to the edge of the town-lands, they dug a pit, seven cubits 'deep, and buried the lime there, throwing into the hole above 'it mustard and salt, and over these dust and stones, and 'filling in the space between the stones with lead. At each 'corner, too, the Juttee drove in an iron nail, two feet long, 'which he had previously charmed. When the lime reached 'the limits of the town, some of the townsmen had suggested 'that it would be satisfactory if the Bhoot were buried outside 'their bounds; but the people of the neighbouring towns 'threatened that a serious quarrel would arise if he were 'buried otherwise than on the chief's own ground. The Juttee, 'too, said that there was no occasion for alarm, and that the 'Bhoot could not escape if he were leaded down; besides, that 'if he were properly buried, he would pine away, and die in a 'few days. The lime buried, the people returned home, and 'not one of them ever saw the Bhoot thereafter. The chief 'gave the Juttee a handsome present, and people were con'vinced that there were few such powerful exorcists in India; 'but,' says the essayist, 'no one understood what had really 'been done.' According to our author, the cure was effected by putting quicksilver into the lime.[1]

[1] In Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, Oxford, 1920, iii. 1734, is a description

'When a man is attacked with fever, or becomes speech-'less, or appears to have lock-jaw, his friends conclude, from 'these indications, that he is possessed by a Bhoot. They call 'him by his name, but he does not answer, and then they 'think it necessary to send for a Brahmin who is learned in 'the Book of Doorgâ. If there is any delay in this Brahmin's 'coming, some one suggests that the patient should be fumi-'gated with pepper, or with the dung of a dog, and that the 'spirit possessing him will then speak. When the man has 'been thus treated, he will sometimes speak and sometimes 'not. As soon as the Brahmin who knows the book has 'arrived, he takes his seat on a carpet, cleanly dressed. He 'places a new red cloth on a low table, and upon it makes 'the eight-leaved Yuntra (or charmed figure) with grains of 'wheat, writing, in the nine chambers, the nine names of 'Doorgâ, as follows:—1. Syelpootree; 2. Brumhâchâreenee; '3. Chundraghuntâ; 4. Kooshmândâ; 5. Skund Mâtâ; 6. 'Kâtyâyunee; 7. Kâlrâttree; 8. Muhâ Gowree; 9. Siddhidâ. 'In the nine chambers he makes also nine heaps of wheat, 'in each of which he performs the "invitation" of one of the 'nine Doorgâs. Upon this he places a vessel filled with 'water and a cocoa-nut, or sometimes merely a cocoa-nut. 'This he worships. He makes incense of gum-resin and a lamp 'of clarified butter. The friends having dressed the possessed 'person in clean clothes, seat him opposite. The Brahmin 'begins to read the "book." He repeats the charm of nine 'letters, holding rice or water in his hand, with which, when 'charmed, he sprinkles the possessed until he begins to trem-'ble. To make him tremble well he places a copper or brass 'dish on an empty vessel, and raps upon it. He sprinkles 'the possessed with rice or water charmed with the nine-letter 'charm, and summons the Bhoot. The possessed, in reply, 'mentions the name of some one of his deceased relations, 'whom he declares himself to be, and he further states that 'his life has clung to his house, or property, or wife, and that 'he has therefore become a Bhoot. He tells his friends that

of the expulsion of 'Murree,' or the cholera, in a similar manner; and in M. Huc's travels, he relates how the Tartar Lamas expel, much in the same way, the 'Tchutgour' or Bhoot of that country.

'they are in possession of his property, and that if they do not 'attend to what he says in regard to the protection of his son 'he will annoy them. He further prescribes to them certain 'means to be used for his own recovery. Some of the rela-'tions assent, and they swear the Bhoot to the agreement by 'causing him to place his hand on the platform consecrated to 'Doorgâ, or on the book. The Chundee Pât (or Book of 'Doorgâ) is found in the Markundee Poorân. It contains a 'verse which states that

> The Gruh, the Bhoot, the Pishâch, the Yuksh,
> The Gundhurv, the Râkshus, the Brum-Râkshus,
> The Vyetâl, the Kooshmând, the Bhyeruv,

'and other unclean spirits fly from the man who is armed 'with the Chundee Pât.' [1]

When a Bhoot sets a man trembling he will sometimes say, 'Take me to Someshwur Puttun, and procure for me libera-'tion. Every one belonging to the family must go, and I will 'travel in the body of one of you and obtain liberation.' He further enjoins that a certain vow be taken, which is to be kept until the party reaches the place appointed. One only of the party takes the vow, which is sometimes to eat only half the usual food, sometimes to abstain from the use of milk or of curds, coarse sugar or spices. The most strict of all vows is that to abstain from clarified butter. Some take a vow to convey their food to their mouths by passing it below their knees. The vows are usually taken by a woman of the family. Another vow is that of eating in a standing position out of a black earthen plate, and with the left hand only. Some men vow to abandon the use of a turban, in which case they substitute a small cloth; others vow to wear no shoes, or to travel on foot to the place of pilgrimage. Women vow to wear no bodice. When the person who has taken the vow finds opportunity he proceeds to the holy place, and absolves himself. If before he set out thither any other member of the family be attacked with sickness, the possessed tells the person who has made the vow that this is because of his nonperformance of it, and that it is he (the Bhoot) who is causing pain to the

[1] Vide *Transactions*, Bombay Literary Society, iii, 75.

sufferer. The person bound by the vow will then set off immediately.

Another practice is as follows :—When a person falls sick, some relation waving a jewel round his head puts it away, and vows not to use it after the recovery of the sick person until he shall have entertained so many Brahmins. A poor man uses a metal cup or other vessel for the same purpose. The ceremony is called 'Oocheeto.'

Pilgrimages to Prubhâs or Someshwur Puttun generally commence on the eleventh of the light half of Kârteek, and continue during five days,—those days being dedicated to the 'Poorwuj,' or ancestral Devs. Generally speaking, the whole family, including the man's brothers and their wives, must go, for if one of the party happen to remain at home the Bhoot will frequently remain also, and not go to Prubhâs with the rest.[1] The party proceed thither on foot, shoeless, without turbans, or in whatever other way their vow may direct. They are received at Prubhâs by a class of Brahmins called 'Sompurâ,' who, whenever a caravan arrives, select certain of the members of it, whom they claim as their disciples on

[1] 'It is very difficult, they say, to get rid of a Nis when one wishes 'it. (The Nis is the same being in Scandinavia, which is called Kobold 'in Germany, Brownie in Scotland, &c.). A man who lived in a house, 'in which a Nis carried his pranks to great lengths, resolved to quit 'the tenement, and leave him there alone. Several cart-loads of furniture 'were already gone, and the man was come to take away the last, 'which consisted chiefly of empty tubs, barrels, and things of that sort. 'The load was now all ready, and the man had just bidden farewell to 'his house and to the Nis, hoping for comfort in his new habitation, 'when happening, from some cause or other, to go to the back of the 'cart, there he saw the Nis sitting in one of the tubs in the cart, plainly 'with the intention of going along with him wherever he went. The 'good man was surprised and disconcerted beyond measure at seeing 'that all his labour was to no purpose; but the Nis began to laugh 'heartily, popped his head up out of the tub, and cried to the bewildered 'farmer, "Ha! we're moving to-day, you see."

'This story is current in Germany, England, and Ireland. In the 'German story, the farmer set fire to his barn to burn the Kobold in 'it. As he was driving off, he turned round to look at the blaze, and, 'to his no small mortification, saw the Kobold behind him in the cart, 'crying "It was time for us to come out! it was time for us to come 'out!"'—Vide *Keightley's Fairy Mythology.*

the ground that the strangers' ancestors (as appears from the Brahmins' books) had, at such and such times, visited the holy place, and appointed the Brahmins their Gors.[1] On the morning of the day following, the pilgrims, having shaved and removed their moustaches, go to the river Suruswutee, and perform 'Deh shooddh Prâyuscheet' and 'Shrâdh' (ceremonies which have been described), they then bathe in the river under the Gor's directions—husband and wife, if such be the form of their vow, wearing one long garment. The Gor says to the pilgrims, 'Advance into the river, and make obeisance 'to the Dev of the holy place.' While the pilgrim pays his adorations accordingly, the priest repeats this verse:—

> Ganges, Jumna, Godâveree, Suruswutee,
> Nerbudda, and sea-going Kâveree, enter into this water.

He then repeats, in Sanscrit, the names of the year, month, day of the month, and day of the week, and continues thus:— 'I bathe in this place of pilgrimage for the purpose of re- 'moving whatever sins I may have committed of thought, 'word, or deed; of obtaining the favor of the Supreme Lord; 'of purifying my body; of procuring liberation for the ances- 'tral Devs.' He then says to the bather, 'Now complete 'your bathing.' In this manner he causes the whole party to bathe, one after the other. As the pilgrims ascend out of the water after bathing they are beset by a crowd of mendicants, commonly Brahmins, among whom they distribute what money they have. There is a sacred fig-tree there, which people suppose to be of the time of Shree Krishn. The pilgrims worship this tree, and pour water upon its roots, under the idea that the Poorwuj Devs drink water so poured. They then circumambulate the tree. When the possessed person beholds this tree he becomes immediately under the influence of the Bhoot, and begins to tremble and roll his eyes. The Gor addresses him, and says, 'Now, do you remain here, and whatever 'virtuous actions you may prescribe shall be performed for 'you.' If the Bhoot assent, he will direct that one hundred and eight Brahmins be entertained, or that a bullock and heifer

[1] [The Râjgor, Râjguru, priests who officiate for chiefs (*Bombay Gazetteer*, ix, part i, 16 f.]

be married. In the latter case, the relations go through the whole marriage ceremonial as if for human beings, and at the close one man takes in his hand the tails of the two animals, and the family perform the rite called 'Turpun,' using for the occasion water, milk, and oil of sesamum. The whole of these ceremonies are described in the Kurum Kând of the Veds, of which the following is a verse :—

'Those of my ancestors who have become Bhoots, those 'who have become Prets,—may they all be relieved of their 'thirst by my performing *Turpun* over the tails of the bullock 'and heifer !'

There are about one hundred and twenty verses of this kind, more or less of which are muttered by the person performing the ceremonial. The family also mention the names of their ancestors, or as many of them as they can recollect, and they make in the same place one hundred and eight lump oblations, and assign them to different Poorwuj Devs, and for those which remain unassigned they repeat a verse of the Kurum Kând, such as the following :—

'They who have been struck dead by lightning, or by the 'hands of thieves, or by the tooth or horn of an animal—these 'are they for whose release I offer this lump oblation.'

Perhaps, however, the Bhoot will say, 'This place does not 'please me ; I shall go home and live in my own house, so you 'must make a sacred place for me there.' Then the Gor falls to coaxing the Bhoot very much, and says : 'Would you 'desert such a delightful place of pilgrimage as this, a place on 'the very banks of Suruswuteejee ? No ! no ! you will remain 'here, surely.' Some Bhoots, notwithstanding, insist upon returning home. If the Bhoot be pleased to remain the party perform 'virtuous actions,' such as he may order, at Prubhâs.

In the evening the pilgrims, of whom thousands are collected, worship the Suruswutee, after which ceremony they make lamps of clarified butter in leaf vessels, and set them afloat in the stream, so that the whole surface of the river is brilliantly illuminated.[1]

The pilgrimage is now complete, and the party returns home.

[1] This is no doubt derived from the expiation of Chânukya, for which see note, vol. i, p. 70.

In cases where the possessing Bhoot is supposed to be of low caste, the most successful exorcists are persons called Bhoowos,[1] who are considered to be favourites of some one or other of the 'Shoodra Devees,'—the local goddesses, such as Boucherâjee, Khodeeâr, Gudeychee, Sheekotur, Melâdee, and others. The Bhoowo is of all castes, from the Brahmin downwards. The Devee to whom he is devoted has an altar in his house, at which her pleasure is consulted before he ventures on an act of exorcism. If the answer be in the affirmative, the Bhoowo proceeds to the residence of the patient, attended by drummers, who beat their instruments and chant a song of the Devee, as—

Mother of the Mânsurowur,[2]
Dweller in the Mid-Choonwâl,
Steadfast Boucherâjee, come!
Thou whose chamber faces the east!

. . . or, . . .

True Devee Khodeeâr,[3]
Who dwellest among the hills,
Who when invoked exhibitest thy truth,
Come, swift-speeding mother!

. . . .

The Bhoowo, who has seated himself opposite to the possessed person, as soon as he hears the music, assumes the character of one inspired by the Devee, and begins to employ different means of terrifying the Bhoot. The operation lasts sometimes for five or six days; at length the possessed cries out (in the character of the Bhoot), 'I'm off! I'm off!' and having been duly sworn to expend a certain sum of money in the Devee's service is admitted to be convalescent.[4]

1 [*Bhurā*, an exorcist.]

2 [Mānsarovar or Miyanal Sur, the lake at Viramgām constructed by Miyanal Devi, mother of Siddha Rāja, vol. i, pp. 107–8.]

3 [Khodiāḍ Mātā, 'the malignant mother goddess', has her shrine at Rājapara near Sihor, and is the tribal deity of the Gohil sept of Rājputs (*Bombay Gazetteer*, ix, part i, 136).]

4 'Satan, the common ape of the Almighty, imitates him also in this 'point,' is an observation made by Bishop Hall in reference to faith, which we might continually employ in reference to other subjects. It is recorded of Elisha, 2 Kings iii. 15, that he called for a minstrel, 'And 'it came to pass, when the minstrel played, that the hand of the Lord 'came upon him.' 'It was not for their ears, it was for his own bosom,'

Many Koolees and shepherds in the wild hill-country have altars in their houses consecrated to these 'Mâtâs,'—Melâdee,

says the above-mentioned author, 'that Elisha called for musick, that 'his spirits, after their zealous agitation, might be sweetly composed, 'and put into a meet temper for receiving the calm visions of God.'

The 'damsel possessed with a spirit of divination,' or 'of Python,' mentioned in Acts xvi. 16, seems to have some points of resemblance to the Devee-possessed person we are describing.

The proceedings of a Bhoowo of low caste appear to have given rise to the following action at law, which is reported in the 1st volume of *Selected Cases* decided by the Sudder Dewanee Adawlut of Bombay, at p. 91, as follows:—

'Peetâmbur Nurotum, *Appellant*,

versus

'Mukundâs Koober, and Râeejee Mukun, *Respondents*.

'AHMEDABAD.

'This was an action brought by Appellant against Respondents for 'defamation of character; damages were laid at rupees 995.

'The parties were Dushâ Dishâwul Wâneeâs, and the Appellant set 'forth in his plaint that one Eeshwur Mooljee of their caste went, about 'the 8th Kârtik Shood, 1880 (4th Nov., 1829), to the Nât-Gor (priest 'of the caste), Nânâbhâee Vishnoorâm, to obtain permission, according 'to custom, to give a caste dinner; that leave was accorded, when 'Respondents told Eeshwur that if he would leave out Appellant's 'family they would dine with him; that upon enquiring the cause, 'they assigned as a reason *that some one was ill in Appellant's house* '*when he got a Bungeeâ (or out-caste), to beat a tom-tom*' (a ceremony of exorcism, says the reporter in a note, when an evil spirit is suspected of disturbing a family), '*by which he lost caste*; that the priest and others 'tried to persuade them that the mere act of having a tom-tom beaten 'did not cause loss of caste' (a *tom-tom*, it may be explained, is a drûm, so called because used by criers, who beat 'tâm-tâm' first at one place, then at another, 'tâm' meaning 'place'), 'but Respondents 'would not listen to them, and consequently Eeshwur Mooljee did not 'give his caste-dinner, nor did others who had intended to have done so, 'and consequently Appellant brought this action for defamation.

'The Respondents denied ever having defamed Appellant, and further 'that not being putels or leading people of the caste, even if they had 'said what was asserted, it would not have had any effect, and that the 'Appellant had, since the day mentioned in the plaint, received invita-'tions to caste dinners: moreover, they accused Eeshwur Mooljee and 'Appellant of having brought this charge against them through enmity.

'Appellant replied and Respondent rejoined when the case was 'brought on for hearing before the second Assistant Judge, who took 'the evidence of Eeshwur Mooljee and the Nât Gor, Nânâbhâee Vish-

Sheekotur and others. The altar is called 'deroo'[1] and usually takes the form of a small terrace in the interior of the house, which supports a little wooden image painted red, and is covered with a canopy. These persons, when at enmity with any one, frequently threaten to send their 'deroo' to his house. Even if no threat be employed, it is commonly believed that the Mâtâ of a person who owns a 'deroo' is sure to take vengeance upon his enemies. The house to which a 'deroo' has been sent rocks as if shaken with an earthquake, the tiles clatter, the stalled beasts tremble, and the householder himself is violently agitated by the Devee. Something of this kind then follows. The bystanders ask the possessed who he is? he, convulsed, and throwing his limbs wildly about, cries out, 'I am Sheekotur, and have been sent here by Bechureeo 'Koolee—if amends be made to Bechureeo, and he call me 'back, I will go, otherwise I will take the lives of all the 'people in the house and destroy all the cattle.' Bechureeo is sent for, and told to demand whatever he will, but to call off the 'deroo.' Bechureeo now begins to be possessed himself; he lights a piece of rag, saturated with oil, and waves it

'noorâm, to prove the slander by Respondents, and that, in consequence 'of that report, caste-dinners which had been proposed had not taken 'place, as stated in the plaint, and dismissed fourteen other witnesses 'to the same point, whose evidence was not required by him, these two 'having, in his opinion, proved the point. Appellant further called 'four other witnesses to prove *that the Bungeeâ who beat the tom-tom did 'not come into the house, but beat it outside, and never threw water on his '(Appellant's) wife, who was the sick person, so that the house could not 'have been polluted.* The Assistant Judge considered this evidence 'sufficient to this point, he therefore, dismissed the other two witnesses 'which Appellant had in attendance, and gave judgment, that Appellant 'had proved the defamation of his character, and, further, that there 'were no grounds for such defamation, as no act of exorcism alone was 'sufficient to occasion estrangement from caste; he, therefore, in con-'sideration of the defamation and Appellant's loss of dinner, awarded 'rupees 99 damages with all costs, and dismissed the witnesses which 'Respondents had summoned to prove the negative of the plaint, as 'the Court considered them unnecessary.'

This decree of the Assistant Judge was reversed by the Judge, but, in substance, ultimately upheld by the Court of Appeal, which (A. D. 1832) awarded the Plaintiff one rupee damages and all costs.

[1] [Guj. *Dehru.*]

over the heads of the people of the house and of their cattle, he then thrusts it two or three times into his mouth, and takes it out again lighted to show that he has taken back the 'deroo' into his own body. The lookers-on are astonished at this performance. Sometimes the friends of the afflicted person post off to complain to the chief of the village. The Thâkor, somewhat unwillingly, sends for Bechureeo, and, assuming as well as he can an air of unconcern and authority, orders him to remove the 'deroo'—he is, however, desperately afraid all the time lest the 'deroo' should be sent to his own house. Bechureeo, on the other hand, thinks that it may not be safe to trifle too far with the chief, so he promises to take away his Mâtâ.

Sometimes, however, the Thâkor has a 'deroo' of his own. A chief of our acquaintance had a very valuable possession in the person of one 'Kesur Bâee Mâtâ.' When his cultivators showed a disposition to leave his village, he frightened them into remaining by hinting that the Mâtâ might follow them. It is said, too, that he sometimes met the demands of his creditors in a similar manner.

Bhoowos are occasionally employed to relieve persons who are annoyed by a 'deroo.'

It is believed that a woman who is born upon one of a list of days laid down in the astrological books is a 'poison-'daughter,' or gifted with the evil-eye. Such a person is called a Dâkin, or witch, and it is supposed that they on whom she casts her eyes suffer as if they were possessed by a Bhoot. Some persons, when they feel unwell, think that the effect is produced by a witch having set her Dev at them. Witches are most commonly of the Chârun, or Wâghuree castes. Many precautions are employed to avert the effects of the evil-eye; the best preservatives are iron articles, marks made with black colour, charms, or amulets.

There are six descriptions of charms, or 'muntras,' known in Goozerat, which are described in a series of works forming the scriptures on the subject, or 'Muntra Shâstres.' A charm called 'Mârun Muntra' has the power of taking away life; 'Mohun Muntra' produces ocular or auricular illusions; 'Sthumbhun Muntra' stops what is in motion; 'Âkurshun

'Muntra' calls or makes present anything; 'Wusheekurun 'Muntra' has the power of enthralling; and 'Oochâtun[1] 'Muntra' of causing bodily injury short of death.

Dâdbâ, the eldest son of Wujey Singh, Râwul of Bhownugger, died at Seehore, in A. D. 1845. About that time Nâroobâ, his younger half-brother, had employed five-and-twenty Brahmins at Bhownugger in the performance of certain religious ceremonies. Dâdbâ also had visited Bhownugger, shortly before his death, to be present at the annual ceremony of the Râwul's worshipping the sea, and it was there that he was taken ill. The people of Seehore, putting these facts together, came to the conclusion that Nâroobâ had employed the Brahmins to take away his brother's life by charms, and that Nâneebâ, the mother of Nâroobâ, had put vetches, charmed for the purpose, among the flowers which were scattered upon the young chief during the celebration. Dâdbâ's mother collected a crowd of persons, strangers, and people of the country, Brahmins, Juttees, and Fukeers, who were supposed to be possessed of skill in charms, and offered them any sum of money she possessed to save the life of her son. The essayist, from whom our account of these popular beliefs is mostly derived, was one of the Brahmins thus called in by the rânee. They were altogether about a hundred in number. The Brahmins sprinkled an image of Muhâ Dev, muttering a charm, called 'the conqueror of death;' some of them worshipped 'the Crane-faced Devee,' and other goddesses. A Wâneeo, from Calcutta, who was present, distinguished himself by the variety of his resources. Prince Dâdbâ, however, died, notwithstanding all the means employed to prolong his life. It was then currently reported that Nâroobâ had made a fire-sacrifice, in which he had offered goats with their mouths stuffed full of rice in the husk, and that the Brahmins whom he had employed had washed themselves in oil and blood. The principal of these Brahmins, a person named Geerjâ Shunker, was so apprehensive that the friends of the deceased prince would put him to death, that he procured five soldiers from Nâroobâ to remain continually with him for his protection.

[1] [Skt. *Akarshana*, 'drawing, attracting'; *vaśi karaṇa*, 'subjugation'; *uchchâṭana*, 'uprooting'.]

He is, to this day, pointed at by people as the Brahmin who destroyed Prince Dâdbâ by his charms.

Many similar instances of the employment of 'Mârun 'Muntra' are believed to have happened—in fact, whenever a person dies a sudden death, it is supposed that he has been destroyed by this charm. It is also believed that 'Mârun 'Muntras' have the power of causing trees to wither or rocks to split, and of producing many other effects which it would be an endless task to describe.

'Mohun Muntras' are described in the Shâstras, but the people of Goozerat, it would appear, have much more knowledge of the matter at the present time than the writers of these works were possessed of. Those who are skilled in the use of this charm will throw a jewel into a well, and reproduce it again from another place, and will mention the names of persons whom, it might be supposed, they had never heard of. They will also burn clothes to rags, and produce them again entire; they will cause a mango tree to spring up in a moment, create a snake out of a piece of leather, change pebbles into silver coins, produce various articles from an empty hand, and perform many other achievements of the like nature which the spectators believe impossible without the assistance of a Dev.

By the 'Stumbhun Muntra,' it is said, an advancing army may be stopped, the voice may be taken away from an instrument of music, the skill of an opposing disputant snatched from him, the course of running water arrested, a flying thief compelled to stand.

The following story is commonly told in regard to the 'Akurshun Muntra':—A certain rânee had sent her maid into the market to purchase some scented oil. The maid, as she returned, met a Juttee, who asked permission to dip a straw into the oil: and on her allowing him to do so stirred the oil, muttering the Akurshun Muntra all the while. The maid, unaware of what had been done, carried the oil to her mistress; but the latter, having taken it into her hand, observed that the oil revolved in the vessel, and inquired of the maid who had met her on the road. The maid said that the Gooroojee had dipped a straw into the oil but that she had met no one

but him. The rânee threw the oil upon a large stone, which in the night, owing to the power of the charm, travelled away to the Juttee's convent. When the raja was made aware of what had happened, he put the monk to death.

It was by this charm, as we have seen, that Umur Singh Shewuro, the adviser of Bheem Dev II., 'drew to himself 'men, women, and Devs.' His master also was accused of dealing in charms.[1]

A certain raja, it is said, had two rânees. A Brahmin gave to each of them a Wusheekurun note, in which he had written, 'If the elder queen be preferred, it is all right, and if the 'younger be preferred, then, too, it is all right.' Both rânees were satisfied that they had obtained what they desired. The raja having got scent of the matter had the notes taken out of the lockets, and the contents of them read, when they afforded matter for laughter. Similarly, persons pretending to occult science when consulted by women who were desirous of giving birth to sons, have been known to present them with charmed notes, which were not to be opened until the child was born. In these notes they wrote '*pootra nuheen pootree*,' which may be read, 'not a son but a daughter,' or vice versâ. Sometimes the wise man tells the father, under a pledge of secrecy, that his child will be a son, and the mother, under a similar pledge, that it will be a daughter. When the event occurs the disappointed party is informed that he or she had not faith, and that the coming event was on that account concealed from them.[2]

[1] *Vide* vol. i, p. 202.

[2] Andrews, in his continuation of Dr. Henry's *History of Great Britain*, p. 383, quoting Scot's *Discovery of Witchcraft*, says: 'The stories which our facetious author relates of ridiculous charms, which, by help of credulity, operated wonders, are extremely laughable. In one of them a poor woman is commemorated who cured all diseases by muttering a certain form of words over the party afflicted; for which service she always received one penny and a loaf of bread. At length, terrified by menaces of flames, both in this world and the next, she owned that her whole conjuration consisted in these potent lines, which she always repeated in a low voice near the head of her patient:—

Thy loaf in my hand,
And thy penny in my purse,
Thou art never the better—
And I—am never the worse.

We may describe one more charm, which is very commonly used in exorcising Bhoots: it is a Boudhist charm, and is called that of Ghuntâ Kurun Veer, or 'the bell-eared spirit.' The rites employed in the construction of this charm must be commenced in the light or the dark half of the month, according as the result sought to be obtained is innocent or noxious. The magician takes his place in a garden, a temple, or some well-purified place in a house: he must be quite private. He first washes his body, repeating this muntra:—

Hring, Hring, Kling—praise to the water of Ganges!

Then he proceeds to dress himself in clean clothes, muttering another muntra:—

Om, Hring, Kling, praise to Anund Dev!

Next he worships the ground, saying:—

Om, Hring, Shring, praise to the earth and the other Devs!

He now seats himself and burns incense, lights lamps of oil and clarified butter, reflects upon Ghuntâ Kurun Veer, and draws upon paper or palmyra leaf a portrait of him with bells

The reader will recollect the use made of these lines in one of the closing scenes of the *Bride of Lammermoor*. See also an oracular answer of this kind in Sir George Head's translation of *Apuleius*.

It is told of the first of the English architects, that when he had completed the building of Windsor Castle, he caused these words to be inscribed on one of the walls:—

'This made Wykeham.'

His enemies endeavoured to represent this as a proof of his arrogance, but Wykeham adroitly explained his meaning to be, not that he had made the castle, but that the castle had been the making of him.

The answer given to Crœsus when he marched against Cyrus is well known: 'Crœsus, by passing the Halys, will overthrow a great kingdom!' Crœsus supposed by this that he should overthrow the power of the enemy, but, in reality, he overthrew his own power. In either event the oracle would have appeared true.

So also in Shakespeare:—

'The Duke yet lives, that Henry shall depose;
But him outlive, and die a violent death.'
Why, this is just,
Aio te, Æacida, Romanos vincere posse.

Second Part of King Henry VI, Act i, *sc.* 4.

in his ears, around which he writes the following charm, which he repeats :—

'Om ! I praise Ghuntâ Kurun, the great Veer, the destroyer 'of all diseases. If eruptions on the body cause alarm, save us, 'save us, mighty one ! From where thou standest, O Dev ! 'pictured amid lines of letters, thence fly diseases of breath, 'bile, or phlegm. There dread of the raja exists not. He whose 'ear receives the sound of thy charms, in him Shâkeenee, 'Bhoot, Vyetâl, or Râkshus finds no place to dwell—no 'unseasonable death is there for him ; no snake bites him ; 'fire and thieves cause him no alarm. Hring ! O Ghuntâ 'Kurun, I worship thee ! Tah, tah, tah, Swâhâ !'

This muntra must be repeated thirty-three thousand times in forty-two days. Fire sacrifice is then performed, and the virtue of the charm is complete. The Ghuntâ Kurun charm, if worn in a locket, protects the wearer from all tyranny on the part of Bhoots, Prets, or mortal oppressors : it procures a man wisdom ; brings his enemy into subjection to him ; or even (which is sometimes a more difficult matter) subdues to him his own wife. It is sometimes posted against the wall of a house, for the purpose of excluding snakes, rats, and other vermin, as well as Bhoots.[1]

[1] Plutarch mentions the *Bulla*, which was suspended from the necks of the more noble Roman boys, as a *phylactery*, or '*preservative* of good order, and as it were a bridle on incontinence.' But it is not improbable that some of the Jews in our Saviour's time, as they certainly did afterwards, regarded their phylacteries as amulets or charms, which would keep or *preserve* them from evil. There is a remarkable passage in a rabbinical Targum, written about 500 years after Christ, which may both serve to illustrate what our Lord says, Matt. xxiii. 5, and to shew what was the notion of the more modern Jews concerning their phylacteries. It runs thus :—'The congregation of Israel hath said, 'I am 'chosen above all people, because I bind the *phylacteries* on my left 'hand and on my head, and the *scroll* is fixed on the right side of my door, 'the third part of which is opposite to my bed-chamber, *that the evil* '*spirits may not have power to hurt me*.'—See Parkhurst's *Greek Lexicon* ; also Bishop Patrick, and Calmet, quoted by D'Oyly and Mant, in a note on the passage in St. Matthew.

Many houses in Edinburgh, built previously to the Reformation, have legends over the door, such as '*In thee, O Lord, is all my traist* ;' '*In Deo est honor et gloria* ;' '*Blissit be ye Lord in al his giftis*.' They are said to have been placed there as charms or talismans, with a view

The apparently meaningless and unconnected jargon of which these muntras are composed is, notwithstanding, said to be constructed and used according to a system possessing almost scientific regularity.

Our author asserts that Bhoots are less numerous in the present day than they were formerly. One of the causes which are popularly supposed to have produced this effect is sufficiently amusing. 'Some ignorant people suppose that Bhoots 'fled away from the noise of the English drum, because on 'one side of it there is cow-skin (at the sound of which the 'Hindoo Devatâs took to flight), and on the other side pig-skin '(which frightened away the Mohummedan divinities); and 'this, they say, is the reason that Bhoots have diminished in 'number and muntras proved false.' Similarly, Claudius Buchanan, in his journal of visits to certain churches of the

to exclude evil spirits from the houses, and this tradition appears to receive confirmation from the circumstance that the name of the Deity is always introduced.—See Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh.*

'The early Christians,' observes St. Ephrem, 'marked their very 'doors with the precious and life-giving cross,' as the Jews before them had been in the habit of striking the lintel and the two side posts with the blood of the paschal lamb. We have ourselves frequently seen, in a Mohummedan house, scraps of the Koran pasted near the door to keep out the cholera.

In their expedition in search of the sources of the Niger, the Landers stopping at a village called Moussa, occupied a large round hut, which they thus describe (vol. i, p. 217):—'In the centre of it is the trunk of 'a large tree, which supports the roof; it has two apertures for doors, 'which are opposite each other; and directly over them, suspended 'from the wall, are a couple of charms, written in the Arabic character 'on bits of paper, *which are to preserve the premises from being destroyed 'by fire.*'—See also vol. ii of the same work, pp. 231–2.

In Russia a still more practical use is made of a similar religious charm. 'The tradesmen in many instances, particularly those of the public 'bazaars, do not reside at their business premises (Hindoo-like), which 'are thus left without protection, but though availing themselves of 'all the precautions of bolts and bars, they trust less to them than to 'the superstition of their countrymen. They affix seals to their doors 'and window shutters; and as St. Nicholas, the national saint, is sup-'posed to be peculiarly the protector of such securities, no thief would 'venture to commit the sacrilege of breaking them, while bars and chains 'would offer no impediment to his violence.' . . . 'In the days of paganism 'the worship of Mercury would have been analogous.'—*Russia*, by Thompson. Smith, Elder, & Co., 1848.

St. Thomé Christians,[1] tells us that he observed that the bells of most of their churches were placed within the building, and not in a tower: 'the reason, they said, was this:—when 'a Hindoo temple happens to be near a church, the Hindoos 'do not like the bell to sound loud; for they say it frightens 'their god.'[2]

Note A

The following remarks upon the Bhoot Nibundh are from an article on 'Daimoniac Possession, Oracles, and Medical Thaumaturgy in India,' published in the first number of the *Bombay Quarterly Magazine and Review*, in October, 1850:—

'Previously to the appearance of the *Bhoot Nibundh*, a series of papers was commenced in the *Dublin University Magazine*, and has since been continued, though unfortunately at intervals too wide apart[3] for the unity of the subject, on WAREN, a term used among the Mahrattas to comprehend the whole field of pneumatology—*Waren* literally corresponding with *πνεῦμα*—under the spiritual machinery of a dual possession, possession malignant and demoniac, possession beneficent and divine; though this apparent duality the writer maintains to be

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[1] [St. Thomé Christians are the Nestorians of the Malabar Coast. They claim that they were converted by the Apostle Thomas, who afterwards went to Mylapore (St. Thomas' Mount), near Madras, and was martyred there. Other accounts say that he was put to death by the Parthian king Gondophernes. Many of these Nestorians have been converted by the Portuguese at Goa to Catholicism: since the visit of Claudius Buchanan, whose *Christian Researches in Asia*, 1811, excited great interest, they have also received much attention from Anglican missions.]

[2] Hindoos will sometimes stop their ears when they hear the Muezzin's call to prayers. The Sikh government positively prohibited its being pronounced aloud. *Vide* Shore's *Notes on Indian Affairs*, vol. ii, p. 412.

When, in the middle of the ninth century, the Christian church secured, through the instrumentality of St. Anschar, complete toleration in Jutland, 'it obtained, amongst other privileges, the free use of bells, 'which the heathen, in dread of sorcery, would never before permit.' The soul-bell in England, which was rung while the corpse was conducted to the church, and during the bringing it out of the church to the grave, was supposed to scare away the devils.—*Vide* Brand's *Popular Antiquities*. The Trolls have been almost all driven out of Scandinavia by the ringing of the bells in the church steeples, and the Korrigans of Brittany seem to have been rendered very insecure in their position from the same cause.—*Vide* Keightley's *Fairy Mythology*.

[3] Ranging from March, 1848, to April, 1850.

merely on the surface, and to indicate rather two stages of human culture; whether these different stages succeed each other at different periods, as regards the whole mass of society, or co-exist in its various component parts at one time, producing on the mass at different epochs, or on different classes of men at one and the same epoch, two very divergent spiritual impressions, from the same physical and psychological phenomena. The *Bhoot Nibundh* affords ample confirmation of the facts alleged in these papers on *Waren*, which were at first received with some degree of surprise, if not of incredulity, among European readers living far alike from the scene of such occurrences, and from that epoch of civilization in which alone they could have place, and who, from education, had been accustomed to a view of daimoniac possessions not perhaps in its inmost significance materially different from that taken by the writer, but extremely so as to the mode, the order, and the immediate instruments of the spiritual agency or influence,—(the dominion of that murderer from the beginning, who hath the power of death, and goeth about *sicut leo rugiens*, scourging and oppressing man under *every* form of permitted physical evil)—which all alike acknowledge to be exerted in these manifestations.

'Among the Cingalese the same beliefs and nearly the same processes obtain as among the Mahrattas and the people of Goozerat. An English clergyman, resident in Ceylon, who had long observed, with wonder and interest, the prevalence and influence of these singular ideas among the surrounding population, recognized, in the descriptions of Waren, the very phenomena which had so often attracted his attention in his own locality, and bore testimony to a traveller, whose letter is now before us, to the identity of the two systems.

'They are not, however, even at this day, wholly limited to India. The performances of the fasting chiefs of the Native American tribes, and of the Siberian magicians, as described by recent travellers, bear a considerable resemblance to those attributed to the Bhukts who court and attain to *Waren*.

'But perhaps the most singular and complete analogy to the Hindoo system of Bhoots is to be found in a quarter where we should have been little prepared to meet it in the nineteenth century. In the course of last year, two or three long papers appeared in the *Dublin University Magazine*, on the Popular Superstitions of the Irish; and the details there given regarding the class of fairies called Sidds, or earth-deities, and their power over human bodies, exhibit a wonderful correspondence, not only in the general train of popular thought, but sometimes even in the most minute and singular particulars,—especially the possession of women, alienated consciousness, fevers, and other obstinate or anomalous diseases,—with those described in the *Waren* papers and the *Bhoot Nibundh*. It is both curious and satisfactory to see the facts stated in the first attempt to portray the daimonology of India, many of them of a very singular character, confirmed by parallelisms in places so remote from each other. We might indeed have expected *à priori*, that the daimonological creed, and manifestations witnessed in the

villages of the Dekkan and Konkun, should have their correlatives in those of Brahminical Goozerat, and even in Buddhistical Ceylon; we might not have been violently surprised to discover analogous effects produced by violent religious, or rather fanatical, excitement, among the sublime forests and cataracts which are the home of the Indian savage, or on the dreary steppes of Siberia, among races whom no ray of divine knowledge, or diviner love, has ever visited; but it is truly astonishing to find the very same beliefs prevailing, though under a supernatural drapery slightly different, in a Christian island so remote from Hindoostan,

——partita del mundo, ultima Irlanda.'

The original meaning of the word 'Bhoot' is 'an element.' Bhoots are not, in Goozerat at least, regarded as 'devils' (the idea of a spiritual arch-enemy of God and man having there no existence), but rather as *daimons*, 'spirits of men or women deceased,—human ghosts in fact,— 'still unhappily entangled in human passions, desires, or anxieties :—

Alas! poor ghost!

'and seeking to inflict pain, to practice delusion, or to enjoy pleasure, 'through the instrumentality of a living human body, of which they 'take temporary possession.'

In other parts of India they are known under different forms. 'The 'worship of demons,' says the Abbé Dubois, speaking of the Hindoos of Mysore, 'is universally established and practised among them. They 'call them *Bhuta*, which also signifies *element*; as if the elements were, 'in fact, nothing else but wicked spirits personified, from whose wrath 'and fury all the disturbances of nature arise. Malign spirits are also 'called by the generic names of *Pisacha* and *Daitya*.

'In many parts we meet with temples specially devoted to the worship 'of wicked spirits. There are districts also in which it almost exclusively 'predominates. Such is that long chain of mountains which extend on 'the west of the Mysore, where the greater part of the inhabitants 'practice no other worship than that of the devil. Every house and each 'family has its own particular Bhuta, who stands for its tutelary god; 'and to whom, daily, prayers and propitiatory sacrifices are offered, 'not only to incline him to withhold his own machinations, but to defend 'them from the evils which the Bhutas of their neighbours or enemies 'might inflict. In those parts the image of the demon is everywhere 'seen, represented in a hideous form, and often by a shapeless stone. 'Each of these fiends has his particular name, and some who are more 'powerful and atrocious than others, are preferred in the same proportion.

'All evil demons love bloody offerings; and, therefore, their ardent 'worshippers sacrifice living victims, such as buffaloes, hogs, rams, 'cocks, and the like. When rice is offered, it must be tinged with blood; 'and they are also soothed with inebriating drinks. In offerings of 'flowers, the red only are presented to them.

'The worship of the Bhutas, and the manner of conducting it, are

'explained in the fourth Veda of the Hindoos, called Atharwana Veda, 'and it is on this account very carefully concealed by the Brahmins.

'I have very generally found that the direct worship of demons is 'most prevalent in deserts, solitary places, and mountainous tracts; 'the reason of which is, that in such parts the people are less civilized 'than those of the plains, more ignorant and timid, and therefore more 'prone to superstition. They are therefore more easily led to attribute 'all their misadventures and afflictions to the displeasure of their 'demon.

'Many hordes of savages, who are scattered among the forests on 'the coast of Malabar, and in the woods and mountains of Kadu, 'Kuruberu, Soligueru, and Iruler, acknowledge no other deity but the 'Bhutas.' [Dubois, *Hindu Manners, Customs, and Ceremonies*, 3rd ed., Oxford, 1906, pp. 644 f.]

The following occurs in the tenth report of the German Evangelical Mission, in the same part of the country, printed at Bangalore in 1850.

'At Uchilla, a village thirty miles to the north of Bangalore, a small 'congregation has been gathered within the last year, and a large piece 'of waste land was kindly granted to the mission some time ago. Corajea 'Pujari, one of the great men of that neighbourhood, has given up his 'idolatry, destroyed his *Bhuta* temple, and come over to the side of the 'gospel.' Then follows the case of 'Fakire, a Billavur,' of the village of Bolma, who, after long deliberation, 'at last felt love for the Gospel, 'but for another year kept perfect silence, until three weeks ago, when 'his parents desired him to worship the house *Bhuta*, by submitting 'himself to be possessed according to the custom. Then, at once, he 'declared that he would no longer so degrade himself,—that all this 'worship was a lie and a sin.'

The Rev. Mr. Caldwell, in his most interesting account of the Shanars of Tinnevelly (a country still further south than Mysore, and adjacent to Cape Comorin) seems to distinguish between 'demons' of two classes, the latter of which (though he still calls them 'devils') almost exactly correspond with the Bhoots of Goozerat. The former, he says, are forms of Kâlee, and particularly of Bhudra Kâlee, and are known by the name of 'Ammen' or mother; their worship is marked by some distinctive peculiarities, and probably resembles that of the *Mâtâs* or local goddesses, the Boucherâjee, the Khodeeâr, &c. of Goozerat; 'a large majority, 'however, of the devils are of purely Shanar or Tamil origin and totally 'unconnected with Brahminism in any of its phases of modifications,' and of these he gives the following description:—

'The majority of the devils are supposed to have been originally 'human beings; and the class of persons most frequently supposed to 'have been transformed into devils are those who have met with a sudden 'or violent death, especially if they had made themselves dreaded in 'their lifetime.' (See the case of *Soorujmul of Chândunee*, vol. ii, p. 134.) 'Devils may in consequence be either male or female, of low or high 'caste, of Hindoo, or foreign lineage. Their character and mode of 'life seem to be little, if at all, modified by differences of this nature.

'All are powerful, malicious, and interfering; and all are desirous 'of bloody sacrifices and frantic dances. The only differences apparent 'are in the structure of the temple or image built to their honor, the 'insignia worn by their priests, the minutiæ of the ceremonies observed 'in their worship, the preference of the sacrifice of a goat by one, a hog 'by another, and a cock by a third, or in the addition of libations of 'ardent spirits for which Pariar demons stipulate. As for their abode, 'the majority of the devils are supposed to dwell in trees; some wander 'to and fro, and go up and down in uninhabited wastes, some skulk 'in shady retreats. Sometimes they take up their abode in the rude 'temples erected to their honour, or in houses; and it often happens 'that a devil will take a fancy to dispossess the soul and inhabit the body 'of one of his votaries; in which case the personal consciousness of the 'possessed party ceases, and the screaming, gesticulating, and pythoniz- 'ing, are supposed to be the demon's acts.'

Bhoots are to be met with it would appear, also, in northern Hindoostan:—'Besides these drawbacks to the holding office in Chota Nagpore,' says a writer on the north-western provinces in India, 'there was 'another, and to some minds, a much greater evil to be incurred. The 'belief in spells, incantations, and magic, is rife throughout all India; 'nor are the most educated free from this delusion. It is universally 'credited in the more civilized parts of the country that the people 'of the south are powerful in spells, and that among the hills and forests, 'ghosts or "bhoots," a kind of mischievous devils, abound.' [1]

Bishop Gobat, in his *Journal of a Residence in Abyssinia*, alludes to the belief, prevalent in that country, in a race of 'Sorcerers' (as he terms them), called by the natives 'Boudas.'

It is supposed that these Boudas 'render themselves invisible at 'pleasure; that when any one kills an ox, &c., he often finds an empty 'part in it, or full of water, which ought to have been filled with flesh—it 'is the Boudas who have eaten it; that men, without illness, and with 'a good appetite, become like skeletons—they are internally devoured 'by the Boudas; and, especially that hyænas are often killed whose 'ears are pierced, sometimes even they have earrings.' The Abyssinians believe that the greater part of the hyænas are Boudas metamorphosed, and that persons, under the influence of Boudas, utter cries resembling the howling of the hyæna. They believe, also, that all the Falashas (a tribe of Jews), many Mussulmans, and even some Christians are Boudas. Dr. Gobat relates that, when he was suffering from a violent attack of fever, he was supposed by the persons who attended him to be under the influence of these sorcerers. It appears that the Bishop was successful in persuading the people about him that there were really no *human* beings who could make themselves invisible, or assume the form of hyænas to prey upon their fellow men, but that he was unable to persuade them that Boudas did not exist, or that they had not the power of occasioning diseases. Dr. Gobat was, perhaps, by no means curious

[1] *Benares Magazine*, vol. iii, p. 340, Article, 'Recollections of an official 'visit to the Ramgurh District.'

in examining what the theory of these Abyssinians really was, but, from the replies which he has reported to his arguments, it appears probable that the people believed in other Boudas beside these human ones, and identified them with the dæmons or evil spirits of the New Testament. The similarity between Bhoots and Boudas, in both name and character, suggests the inquiry whether both may not have had a common origin in the days of the now almost forgotten traffic between the shores of India and the once powerful Abyssinian empire.

Dr. Gobat remarks (and it is an illustration of the practical effect of superstition in rendering people unhappy) that the Abyssinians are usually of a sprightly character, 'but when they are indisposed they are 'doubly miserable from the idea that they are under the influence of 'sorcerers and evil spirits.'

Nathaniel Pearce in his 'Small but true Account of the Ways and Manners of the Abyssinians' published in vol. iii of the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, has the following on the same subject :—

'There are various kinds of complaints in Abyssinia, which, they say, 'are caused by the devil, one of which I shall give a true account of. 'One, called *buder* in Tegri, and *tubbih* in Ammerrer, I think myself is 'only convulsions, similar to people I have seen troubled with fits in 'my own country ; but they say to the contrary, and will have it that 'the complaint is caught from the people who work in iron, such as 'make knives, spears, ploughshares, &c., and those who work in making 'earthenware. Those people all go by the name of *buder* and *tubbih*, 'and are hated worse than Mussulmen, and, though they profess the 'Christian religion, they are not allowed to receive the Sacrament.'

Pearce then goes on to describe the *tegretier*, another complaint in regard to which he admits, that he thinks 'the devil must have some 'hand in it.' It may be noted that *tubbihs* and *buders* are probably transpositions merely of the same word.

On the subject of Fetish possessions in Africa, vide *Lander's Travels*, vol. ii, p. 120, 123-6, 231.

The following contains an account of Bhoots in Tonquin :—

'*Tay-bou* (in *Tonquin*, in the *Indies*, towards *China*), the name of 'one of the two great magicians, who makes the people believe that he 'can foretell things to come, so that, when they desire to marry their 'children, to buy any land, or undertake any considerable business, 'they consult him as an oracle.

'He keeps a book filled with the figures of men, beasts, circles and 'triangles, and three pieces of brass, with some characters on one side 'only ; these he puts into three cups, and, having shaken them, throws 'them out upon the ground, and, if the characters lie uppermost, he 'cries out that the person will be the happiest person in the world, but 'if, on the contrary, they lie undermost, it is accounted as a very bad 'omen.

'If one or two of the characters lie uppermost, then he consults his 'book and tells what he thinks ; he also pretends to know the causes 'of distempers, when they that consult him are sent to him by the *Tay-*

'*Bau* (*Phou?*); and pretends to call the souls of the dead out of their 'bodies to which they are troublesome.

'*Tay-Phou-Thony* (at *Tonquin*), the name of the other *magician*, to 'whom they have recourse in their sickness; if he says the devil is the 'occasion of the distemper, then he orders them to sacrifice, offering 'him a table well-furnished with rice and meat, which the *magician* 'knows how to make use of; if, after this, the sick does not recover, 'all the friends and kindred of the sick person, with several soldiers, 'surround the house, and discharge their muskets thrice to frighten the 'evil spirit away.

'The *magician* makes the patient (especially if a seaman or fisherman 'lies sick) sometimes foolishly believe that he is troubled by the god 'of water, then he orders that tapestries be spread and huts built, and 'good tables kept for three days, at certain distances from the sick man's 'house to the next river, to induce this dæmon to retire and see him 'safe into his dominions again.

'But, the better to know the cause of these distempers, this *magician* 'sends them very often to the *Tay-Bou*, who answers that they are the 'souls of the dead that cause the sickness, and promises that he will 'use his art to draw off these troublesome ghosts to himself and make 'them pass into his own body (for they believe the transmigration of 'souls), and when he catches that ghost that did the mischief he shuts 'it up in a bottle of water, until the person is cured; if the person 'recovers, the *magician* breaks the bottle and sets the ghost at liberty 'to go whither it will. And if the person dies, after the *magician* has 'enjoined the ghost to do no more harm, he sends it away.'—*N. Bailey's English Dictionary*, by Mr. Buchanan, fifth edition. London: W. Johnston, Ludgate-street, 1760.

As Bailey's work is not now very common, we take the present opportunity of quoting from it the following curious and interesting article on the transmigration of souls, which contains much that is to our purpose:—

'Metempsychosis—the transmission of souls from one body to 'another; whatever the modern Jews may say of it, it is not taught 'in any place either of the Old or New Testament.

'There is great probability that the Jews imbibed this notion in 'Chaldea, during their long captivity in Babylon, or from that inter-'course they had with the Greeks, who themselves had borrowed it 'from the Orientals. It is certain that at the time of Jesus Christ this 'opinion was very common among the Jews. This appears plain from 'their saying that some thought Jesus Christ to be John the Baptist, 'others Elias, others Jeremias or some of the old prophets. And when 'Herod the tetrarch heard speak of the miracles of Jesus Christ, he said 'that John the Baptist, whom he had beheaded, was risen again.

'Josephus and Philo, who are the most ancient and the most knowing 'of all the Jews, next to the sacred authors, now extant, speak of the 'metempsychosis as an opinion that was very common in their nation. 'The Pharisees held, according to Josephus, that the souls of good men

'might easily return into another body after the death of that they had 'forsaken. He says elsewhere that the souls of wicked men sometimes 'enter into the bodies of living men, whom they possess and torment. 'Philo says that the souls that descended out of the air into the bodies 'which they animate return again into the air after the death of those 'bodies; that some of them always retain a great abhorrence for matter, 'and dread to be plunged again into bodies; but that others return 'with inclination, and follow the natural desire of which they are influ-'enced. The Jewish doctors wrap this doctrine up in obscure and 'mysterious terms. They believe that God has determined for all souls 'a degree of perfection to which they cannot attain in the course of one 'life only; that they are therefore obliged to return several times upon 'the earth, and to animate several bodies successively, that they may 'fulfil all righteousness and practice the commandments, both negative 'and affirmative, without which they cannot arrive at the state to which 'God intends they should come. Whence is it, they say, that we see 'some people die in the most vigorous time of their youth? It is because 'they have already acquired their degree of perfection, and having 'nothing remaining to be done in a frail and mortal body. Others, 'like Moses, they say, die with reluctance, because they have not yet 'accomplished all their duties. Others, on the contrary, like Daniel, 'die with satisfaction, and even desire death, because nothing remains 'for them to do in this world.

'The Metempsychosis, or revolution of souls, is performed after two 'manners. The first is when a soul comes into a body already animated '—thus it was that Herod the tetrarch imagined that the soul of John 'the Baptist was entered into the body of Jesus Christ in order to work 'miracles. At other times they say souls enter into other bodies already 'animated, there to acquire some new degree of perfection which they 'wanted; thus they said the soul of Moses to be united to that of the 'Messiah, &c. The second manner of transmigration is when a soul 'enters into a body newly formed, either to expiate some crime it had 'committed in another body, or to acquire a greater degree of sanctity. 'The Jews think this revolution is performed at least three or four 'times. They say that some souls of a more exalted nature have 'a great contempt for matter and do not return to animate bodies but 'with great reluctance. Others, that are more gross and carnal, always 'preserve an inclination towards the body, and return thither often 'without any reason but to gratify this desire. They even extend this 'transmigration to brute beasts and to inanimate things: and the number 'is not small of those that maintain this opinion. The most famous of 'the Jewish doctors have held it, and pretend that Pythagoras, Plato, 'and Virgil, and the ancient philosophers that espoused it, had derived 'it from the writings of their prophets.

'This notion is very ancient in the East. The Chinese teach that 'Xekiah, an Indian philosopher who was born about 1,000 years before 'Jesus Christ, was the first broacher of this doctrine in the Indies; that 'from thence it spread into China, in the 56th year after Jesus Christ.

'The Chinese pretend that Xekiah was born 8,000 times, and that at 'his last birth he appeared in the form of a white elephant. It is upon 'this principle that the Indians and Chinese are so little scrupulous 'of putting themselves to death, and that they so often kill their children 'when they find themselves under any difficulty of maintaining them. 'It is related that a king of this country having had the small-pox and 'seeing his face to be much disfigured, could not endure any longer to 'live under such a frightful figure, but ordered his brother's son to cut 'his throat, who afterwards was burnt. The story of the Indian philo-'sopher, Calanus, is well known, who burned himself in the time of 'Alexander the Great. The Indians look upon death with much in-'difference, being persuaded of the metempsychosis, which passes among 'them as a thing not to be doubted. Hence it is that they abstain from 'killing any living creature, for fear of violating the souls of their fathers, 'or of some near relation inhabiting those animals. They do not so 'much as defend themselves against wild beasts, and charitably redeem 'animals out of the hands of strangers who are about to kill them.'

Note B

As a witness in favour of the philosophic and incredulous view, we may call Bentham. 'If', says that author, 'we go deeper into the human 'breast, we shall find in it a secret disposition to believe the marvellous 'as if it extended our power and gave us the command of supernatural 'means. Besides, when these beings of pure creation are the subject, 'reason is not sufficiently unbiassed to scrutinize the testimony. Fear 'comes in the way; doubt appears dangerous; we are afraid lest we 'offend these invisible agents; and there are numerous stories in the 'public mouth of the vengeance which they have taken on unbelievers. 'These are the causes which have established the belief in spectres, 'ghosts, *possessed persons*, devils, vampires, magicians, sorcerers,—all 'those frightful beings who have ceased to play a part in courts, but 'still appear in the cottage.'

The effects to which a perverted belief in supernatural agencies may lead has been described by Heber, in his usual mellow and musical tones; but he is far from recommending on that account an incredulity which is opposed to the highest of all authority :—

'A belief in evil spirits, whether true or false, is one of a gloomy and 'disquieting character. It is one which may produce the worst results 'when indiscreetly and too curiously contemplated: it has drawn some 'into the most loathsome guilt, and plunged others into the acutest 'suffering: it has been the usual source of religious and magical impos-'ture; and its abuses may be traced through innumerable shades of 'human misery, from the fears of childhood to the ravings of frenzy. . . .

'But,' continues the same author, 'if in the history of the supposed 'demoniac of Gadara, we apprehend no other person to be concerned 'but our Lord and His distracted patient; if it were no more than the

'diseased imagination of the sufferer which answered in the demon's 'name; and if it were the ravings of frenzy only which desired that his 'tormentor might take shelter in the swine, can we suppose that our 'Lord, not content with simple acquiescence, not content with conform-'ing his speech to the hallucination of the frantic man, would, by 'afflicting the herd with a like disease, have miraculously confirmed the 'delusion?'

'In this reasoning age,' says Bishop Horsley, 'we are little agreed 'about the cause of the disorder to which this name—possession—'belongs. If we may be guided by the letter of holy writ, it was a tyranny 'of hellish fiends over the imagination and the sensory of the patient. 'For my own part I find no great difficulty of believing that this was really 'the case. I hold those philosophising believers but weak in faith, and 'not strong in reason, who measure the probabilities of past events 'by the experience of the present age, in opposition to the evidence of 'the historians of the times. I am inclined to think that the power of 'the infernal spirits over the bodies as well as the minds of men suffered 'a capital abridgement, an earnest of the final putting down of Satan 'to be trampled under foot of men, when the Son of God had achieved 'His great undertaking; that before that event men were subject to 'a sensible tyranny of the hellish crew, from which they have been ever 'since emancipated. As much as this appears to be implied in that 'remarkable saying of our Lord, when the seventy returned to him 'expressing their joy that they had found the devils subject to themselves 'through His name. He said unto them, "I beheld Satan as lightning 'fall from Heaven." Our Lord *saw* him fall from the heaven of his 'power: what wonder then that the effects should no longer be perceived 'of a power which he hath lost? Upon these general principles, without 'any particular inquiry into the subject, I am contented to rest, and 'exhort you all to rest, in the belief, which in the primitive church was 'universal, that possession really was what the name imports. Be 'that as it may, whatever the disorder was, its effects are undisputed,—'a complication of epilepsy and madness, sometimes accompanied with 'a paralytic affection of one or more of the organs of the senses: the 'madness, in the worst cases, of the frantic and mischievous kind.'

'There is one objection to this view of the matter which may still 'be urged,' says a more modern author,[1] 'namely, that if this possession 'is anything more than insanity in its different forms, how comes it 'to pass that there are no demoniacs now? that they have wholly 'disappeared from the world? But the assumption that there are none, 'is itself one demanding to be proved. . . .

'Certainly in many cases of mania and epilepsy, there is a condition 'very analagous to that of the demoniacs, though the sufferer and 'commonly the physician apprehend it differently.'

[1] Trench on the Miracles, in his chapter on 'The Demoniacs in the country of the Gadarenes,' to which we must refer our readers for a full account of the matter.

Our next extract brings the matter very nearly home :—

'Moreover, we cannot doubt that the might of hell has been greatly 'broken by the coming of the Son of God in the flesh ; and with this 'a restraint set on the grosser manifestations of its power ; "I beheld 'Satan as lightning fall from heaven." His rage and violence are con-'tinually hemmed in, and hindered by the preaching of the Word, and 'ministration of the Sacraments. *It were another thing even now in* '*a heathen land*, especially in one where Satan was not left in undis-'turbed possession, but wherein the great crisis of the conflict between 'light and darkness was finding place through the first incoming 'there of the Gospel of Christ. There we should expect very much to 'find, whether or not in such great intensity, yet manifestations analogous 'to these. In a very interesting communication from India, Rhenius, 'the Lutheran missionary, gives this as exactly his own experience there, '—namely, that among the native Christians, even though many of 'them walk not as children of light, yet there is not this falling under 'Satanic influence in soul and body which he traces frequently in the 'heathen around him ; and he shows by a remarkable example, and one 'in which he is himself the witness throughout, how the assault in the 'name of Jesus on the kingdom of darkness, as it brings out all forms 'of devilish opposition into fiercest activity, so it calls out the endeavour 'to counterwork the truth through men who have been made direct 'organs of the devilish will.'

'These possessions,' says, however, another authority,[1] 'are not 'restricted to professed heathens. I have met with several cases 'amongst persons who had recently placed themselves under Christian 'instruction, and a few amongst native Christians of longer standing, 'in which all the ordinary symptoms of possession, as recognized by 'Shanars, were developed. This corresponds, I believe, with the experi-'ence of most of the missionaries in Tinnevelly. The relatives in such 'cases do not think themselves at liberty to attempt to exorcise the 'demon in the usual way. Accordingly, the missionaries have sometimes 'been sent for to try the effect of European remedies, and when they have 'interfered have generally succeeded to the people's satisfaction, as well 'as their own. Some of the possessions yield by degrees to moral 'influences and alternatives ; but in the majority of cases the most 'effectual exorcism is—tartar-emetic.

'I do not contend that real demoniacal possessions never occur in 'heathen countries. Where Satan rules without opposition, and where 'belief in the reality and frequency of possessions is so general, it is 'natural to suppose that there must be some foundation for the belief. 'Popular delusions generally include a fact. My mind is open to receive 'evidence on the subject ; and considering the number of astonishing 'cases that almost every native says he has been told of by those who 'have seen them, I had hoped some day to witness something of the 'kind myself. But I have not yet had an opportunity of being present

[1] The Rev. R. Caldwell, B.A., in his *Sketch of the Tinnevelly Shanars*.

'where preternatural symptoms were exhibited, though I have sought 'for such an opportunity for nearly twelve years, the greater part of 'the time in a devil-worshipping community. This is the experience, 'as far as I have heard, of all British and American missionaries, with 'the exception of one dubious case. Our German brethren seem to 'have been more fortunate.'

Mr. Caldwell and his friends, we may add, perhaps sought for too much evidence.

CHAPTER X

THE STATE AFTER DEATH—HADES—PARADISE—FINAL EMANCIPATION

THE mourners assemble on the evening of the funeral at the house of the deceased, where a Brahmin reads to them the Gurood Poorân ; they come together every succeeding evening until this scripture has been read through. Therein Krishn has revealed to Gurood many tests by which the destination of the spirit after death may be infallibly ascertained. Some souls, as the deity has declared, pass at once to Paradise, others attain less perishable joys in the company of the finally emancipated. Of these highly favored beings we shall shortly have to speak, but we turn, for the present, to those more numerous spirits who tread the frequented pathway which leads to the gate of Yuma.

The souls of those who have not secured for themselves an unquestioned right of admission to either of the upper worlds are fated to pass through the valley of the shadow of death, and to appear before the judgment-seat of the sovereign of Hades. According to the predominance of their good deeds, or their crimes, they travel, it would seem, along roads of comparative comfort, or of various degrees of torment. The authors of the Poorân, being apparently of opinion that the human mind is more easily acted upon through its fears than through its hopes, have confined themselves almost exclusively to the description of the latter.

On the thirteenth day after decease the Pret, or newly-embodied spirit, is compelled by the emissaries of Hades to set forth on its journey towards Yumpoor. Its attendants aggravate the miseries of the wicked soul by their threats and upbraidings. They cry to the Pret, 'Come quick, evil one ! 'We will carry you to Yuma's door ; we will cast you into 'Koombheepâk, or some other hell !' Amidst such terrible omens the Pret, groaning 'alas ! alas !' pursues its melancholy

route, straining its ear to catch the lamentations of its friends, to which it clings, as to the last bond connecting it with earth, until increasing distance renders the mournful sound inaudible.

The city of Yuma is to the south, below the earth, and eighty-six thousand yojuns[1] from it. The roads by which the souls of the wicked are conducted thither are strewed with thorns, which lacerate the feet, or paved as if with heated copper. Along these painful ways, where no tree offers its shade to the weary traveller by day, and where no kindly hand guides him during the hours of darkness, the Pret is urged without any repose. He cries, 'Alas! alas! O my son!' and reflects upon his crimes *in having made no gifts to Brahmins.* The servants of Yuma heap upon him annoyance, dragging him along as a harsh keeper drags a monkey. He groans within himself, 'I have given nothing to Brahmins; 'I have offered no fire-sacrifice; I have performed no penances; 'I have neglected the worship of the Devs; I have paid no 'respect to Gungâ's streams, which give liberation! Now, 'O body, suffer the recompense of your deeds.' And again: 'I have constructed no place of water, where there was need 'of it, for men, birds, or animals; I have prepared no pas-'turage for cattle; I have given no ordinary gifts; no gifts 'to cows; I have presented no one with the Veds or with the 'Shâstras. Even the virtuous actions which I performed have 'not remained in my possession!'

On the eighteenth day of its journey, the Pret arrives at Oograpoor, the first of the sixteen cities which stud the road to Hades. It is inhabited entirely by Prets. There is a river there called Pooshp Bhudrâ, and a large fig-tree beneath which the servants of Yuma halt a day. Here the Pret receives such offerings as its relatives have presented in Shrâddh, or if less fortunate, sits solitary, lamenting and upbraiding itself with its neglect in having failed to provide for this sad journey through a land where nothing can be purchased, and where there is no one who gives.

Another fortnight brings the Pret to Soureepoor, where Raja Jungum rules, who is as terrible as the Angel of Death. The

[1] The yojun is a measure of distance which different authorities make equal to four miles and a half, or to nine miles.

trembling Pret makes here another halt, and receives the benefits of the shrâddh performed that day upon earth. From this place, passing in its way the cities called Wurendra, Gundhurv, Siddhâgum, Kroor, and Krounch, the Pret proceeds to Vichitrâ-nugger, travelling day and night through a thick jungle, sometimes annoyed by a rain of stones, at other times oppressed with blows struck by invisible hands. Vichitrâ Raja, who is the brother of Yuma, rules in this city. When the Pret has left Vichitrâ-nugger it encounters the most appalling part of its journey,—

Hinc via, Tartarei quæ fert Acherontis ad undas.

It now takes the road to Vyeturunee, and it has also to endure the horrors of the Ushee-puttra Wun, a forest whose ever-falling leaves are long and sharp as sword-blades.

'The description of the mighty river, Vyeturunee, is,' says Krishn, 'a thing terrible to hear.' The Pret, arriving at its banks, shrieks with agony when it beholds a river one hundred yojuns broad, whose sands are formed of the flesh of men, and whose fetid streams, flowing with human blood and the filthy matter which exudes from ulcers, simmer as butter melting on the fire. In the river's bed, pools and rocks alternate; its depth is prodigious, and buoyancy deserts its floods when they are invited to sustain the sinner. Worms and lice abound therein, alligators and all monsters which infest the waters, The sky glows like a furnace, and for the unprotected sinner no shade is there but such as is to be derived from the outstretched wings of carrion birds which sail in the air and vultures whose beaks are iron. 'O Gurood!' has Krishn exclaimed, himself apparently trembling at the horrors of the scene, 'O Gurood! twelve suns pour forth, in that fearful place, 'a heat such as shall be that of the conflagration of the world.'

Amidst these scenes of horror certain sinners, and in particular those who have neglected to employ any means for securing their passage across Vyeturunee, remain for ever, Those who are less miserable are received into the boats of a thousand Kyewurtts,[1] who ferry them across the stream.

The cities which remain to be visited by the Pret who

[[1] Skt. *kaivarta*, 'a fisherman'.]

has escaped the horrors of Vyeturunee are named Buhwâpud, Dookhud, Nânâkrund, Sootupt, Roudra, Pâyowurshun, Sheetâdya, and Bâhoo-Bheetee. In this latter it arrives at the end of a year's journey. Here, by the virtue of the sixteen shrâddhs, it obtains a new body, which is as high as from the elbow of a man to the tip of his finger, and at the same time the old body, which has been so far the travelling companion of the soul, vanishes, 'as the divinity passed from Purshoorâm 'when he crossed weapons with Râm.'

At this time the Supindee Shrâddh should be performed, which, in some cases, appears to produce actual emancipation. The soul rests in Bâhoo-Bheetee, and obtains a cessation of misery in proportion to the value of the religious gifts which it had presented while on earth.

One more stage, and the soul beholds spread before it the huge city of Yuma, extending to a length of one thousand yojuns. At the entrance thereof, surrounded by an iron wall, towers the mansion of Chitragoopt. On a magnificent throne, studded with pearls, sits this first of the servants of Yuma,—like Azrael the Arabian angel of death, counting the time which is allotted to human life, and recording the good deeds and the crimes of mortals. Around the residence of their chief dwell the ministers of human suffering, Jwur, Lootâ, Vishphotuk, the spirits of fever, leprosy, small-pox, and all the other diseases which afflict mankind, as of old they dwelt in the realms of the long-since dethroned sovereign of Erebus,—

> Vestibulum ante ipsum, primisque in faucibus Orci
> Luctus et ultrices posuere cubilia Curæ;
> Pallentesque habitant Morbi, tristisque Senectus,
> Et Metus, et malesuada Fames, ac turpis Egestas,
> Terribiles visu formæ. [Virgil, *Aeneid*, vi, 273–7.]

These, all of them, are the satellites of Chitragoopt, and the messengers who, at his bidding, beckon the soul to Hades.

Yuma's city contains a celestial colony of Gundhurvs and Upsurâs. Thirteen Shruwuns, sons of Brumhâ, keep its gates. Their privilege it is to travel, Hecate-like, through heaven, earth, and hell; and upon them distance has no power in regard of either sight or sound. Such are the sentinels of Chitragoopt, who keep him informed of the actions of mortals. Their wives

are of equal power with themselves. The Shruwuns, however,—for the mind which formed the Poorâns can conceive no being, reach he to whatever height of majesty, to be superior to such allurements,—are described as capable of being conciliated by certain gifts. One of them in particular, who bears the illustrious name of Dhurum-dwuj, or 'Banner of Justice,' is represented as speaking on behalf of the souls by whom he has been propitiated with gifts of the seven kinds of grain.

The palace of Yuma is fifty yojuns long, and twenty yojuns high. It is covered with jewels; the sweet sound of bells echoes through its courts; garlands of flowers ornament its doors; and flags wave over its battlements. Within, seated on a massive throne, the monarch of Pâtâl receives the souls who are marshalled before his judgment-seat to the sound of the warlike conch-shell. The good behold in him a majestic sovereign; but to the eyes of the wicked, who tremble at the sight, he appears as a hideous fiend. Rising from his throne, he welcomes the former with respect, and soon dismisses them to the regions of Paradise; but, frowning upon the latter, he delivers them to his ministers, that they may cast them into the pits of hell, and there confine them,

> to fast in fires
> Till the foul crimes, done in their days of nature,
> Are burnt and purged away. [Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, i. 5.]

The pits of hell are eighty-four hundred thousand in number; the principal hells are twenty-one, whose names are Rouruv, Muhâbheiruv, Tâmeesur, Undhtâmeesur, Koombheepâk, and others. The spirits having there suffered certain punishments, obtain bodies of four classes, each class of twenty-one hundred thousand kinds,[1] such as 'Induj,' or bodies born of eggs; 'Oodbhij,' which grow as vegetables; 'Sweduj,' which are generated of fluids; 'Jurâyooj,' which are produced by the conjunction of male and female.

Of the spirits whom Yuma dismisses to the upper worlds, some pass to Swerga or Dev-Lok; others, who have little virtue, remain among the unclean Devs, of which class are the

[1] That is to say, perhaps, four classes of one hundred thousand apiece, in each of the twenty-one principal hells.

Yukshes, Bheiruvs, Vyetâls, the Bhoots[1] which follow Shiva, and others. Female souls of little virtue become Yuksheenees, Shâkeenees who follow Doorgâ, and other unclean Devees. The residence of the unclean spirits is Bhoowur-Lok, which is immediately above the earth.[2] Above Bhoowur-Lok again is Swerga, the Paradise of Indra, which requires a more particular description.

The author of *Curiosities of Literature* has placed among apparently ridiculous titles of honor bestowed on princes that of the Kandyan sovereign of 'Dewo' (Dev), or, as he interprets it, 'God.' When Mr. D'Israeli saw something absurd in the application of this title to a king, he no doubt understood it in none of its less important meanings, but in that of the Supreme Being, the Sovereign of the universe.

The word Dev has not usually this exalted meaning. It is applied, as we have seen, to other sovereigns than the Kandyan, in much the same sense in which the title of Divus was applied to Julius or to Augustus, by the Romans, and indifferently to those monarchs whose names, like that of Koomâr Pâl, are cherished by their countrymen, and to those who have, like his bloody successor, after a reign of oppression and violence, 'departed without being desired.' The meaning, however,

[1] Not to be confounded with the Bhoot which has been already described, and which is a far inferior spirit.

[2] See *Manu* ii, 76. Also *Prince of the power of the air*, *Rulers of the darkness of this world*. St. Paul to the Ephesians, ii. 2, and vi. 12. On the latter passage Mr. Valpy has the following :—

'It was a Jewish and popular opinion, which, as Mr. Mede observes, 'St. Paul was disposed to approve, and Scripture seems to countenance, 'that the air or sub-celestial regions were inhabited by the evil spirits.'

Milton alludes to this in *Paradise Lost*, Book x, 182, 190 :—

So spake this oracle, then verified,
When Jesus, son of Mary, second Eve,
Saw Satan fall, like lightning, down from heaven,
Prince of the air; then, rising from his grave,
Spoil'd principalities and powers, triumph'd
In open show; and, with ascension bright,
Captivity led captive through *the air*,
The realm itself of Satan, long usurp'd;
Whom he shall tread at last under our feet.

which is usually conveyed to the mind of a Hindoo by the word 'Dev,' is, first, indefinitely a dweller in any one of the upper worlds, and, secondly, more particularly an inhabitant of Swerga.

It is to Shiva or Vishnoo alone that prayers are made for that release from the continuing round of transmigration which is called 'Moksh,' or emancipation. In former days these divinities were not opposed to each other. 'The poet,' says Chund Bhârot, at the commencement of his epic,

> has celebrated the praises of Huree ;
> In the same strain he has also extolled Hur.
> Who pronounces Eesh and Shâm to be distinct,
> That man will depart to Hell.
> Higher than the high is the great splendor [1]
> Which pertains to Nârâyun.
> Never shall he approach it
> Who reviles Muheshwur !

But in the present day no individual addresses himself to both of these divinities. He must hold to the one and reject the other into a subordinate position. Thus it is practically the case that no Hindoo can apply the word Dev, in its sense of God, to more than one being.

Three hundred and thirty millions of Devs are, however, spoken of in the Hindoo scriptures. These are the occupants, at one particular point of time, of Swerga, the Paradise over which Indra rules—they are so far, however, from being gods that they are represented as envying those who precede them in the attainment of emancipation,[2] and it is only by straining the term that the title of King of Immortals can be applied to Indra. 'These,' saith the Geeta, 'having through virtue 'reached the mansion of the King of the Soors feast on the 'exquisite heavenly food of the gods (Devs) : *they who have 'enjoyed this lofty region of Swerga, but whose virtue is exhausted, 'revisit the habitation of mortals.*' [3] They are among those transient things of the poet's—

> Whose flow'ring pride, so fading and so fickle,
> Short Time doth soon cut down with his consuming sickle.

[1] Moksh, that is, higher than Swerga.

[2] *Vide* vol. i. p. 211.

[3] *Vide* Sir William Jones's *Works*, vol. xiii, p. 295. [This is the famous

They are not irrevocably stationed in Paradise, nor exempted from the necessity of being again born into this mortal world, and of undergoing, perhaps, repeated transmigrations. Their tenure of Swerga exhausted, they descend to earth, and their character of Dev is again clothed upon with that of mortal man. Hence, when the Hindoos behold a meteor falling from heaven, they believe that it is a Dev who has enjoyed the happiness which was the reward of his virtuous life in a former birth, and is now returning, with alas! but feeble reminiscence of his more blessed state, to be reborn upon this earth.

Indra himself reigns only for a season, and then gives place to some other whom a hundred Ushwameds have fitted to fill the throne of heaven. He is, notwithstanding, during the duration of his power, a sublime sovereign; the arch of Iris is his bow, the lightning is the glitter of his brandished weapons, and the deep-voiced thunder the rolling of his royal drum.

In the endeavour to realize the idea of a future state of happiness, human conception has never risen beyond the assembling into one place of the objects which men hold most dear in the present world. 'Instead of using these merely as 'analogies, which might help them to some vague conception 'of those, they take them for specific earnests of the others.' [1]

doctrine of *Samsāra*, or wandering of the soul, until it has exhausted its *karma*, or the result of its actions in past births. This doctrine first appears in the *Upanishads*, and is remarkably similar to the teaching of Plato, e. g. in the legend of Er the Pamphylian which closes the *Republic*. The passage of the *Gīta* here referred to is from the ninth book, and is thus rendered by Sir Edwin Arnold:

> Yea! those who learn
> The threefold Veds, who drink the Soma-wine,
> Purge sins, pay sacrifice—from Me they earn
> Passage to Svarga; where the meats divine
>
> Of great gods feed them in high Indra's heaven.
> Yet they, when that prodigious joy is o'er,
> Paradise spent, and wage for merits given,
> Come to the world of death and change once more.]

[1] Vide *Sermons*, chiefly expository, by Richard Edmund Tyrwhitt, M.A. Oxford: J. H. Parker, 1847. Vol. i, pp. 537–540.

Perhaps as good an illustration as can be readily selected of the truth

The Hindoo conception of Swerga does not violate the general rule, although its inadequacy seems to have been perceived by its authors. The second of the four means of attaining perfection, indicated by the Vedânt-sâr, is the cultivation of 'a 'distaste of all sensual pleasures, and even of the happiness 'enjoyed by the gods (Devs).'[1] In the city of Umurâwutee, the capital of Swerga, grows the tree of desire, which confers upon the denizens of Paradise the power of obtaining for themselves or others whatever, in that or the lower Loks, they seek to possess, and thus procures for them such honors as are derivable from the prayers of mortals for objects of terrestrial enjoyment. It is for these only that the Devs of Swerga are worshipped.

The Devs obtain, during their allotted term, bodies ever youthful and incapable of pain. Their food is umrut or ambrosia. Kâmdhenoo supplies them in perfection with all those products of the cow, which are so indispensably necessary to Hindoo happiness. The Gundhurvs entertain them with celestial music. Nor are they deprived of the pleasures of love. As the Arabian paradise has its Howris, and the Hall of Odin its Valkyriors, so the more ancient heaven of Indra boasts of its Upsurâs. Like the virgins of Valhalla, the choosers of the slain, the Upsurâs continually hover above the field of battle, ready to convey to Swerga the warriors who pass to heaven through its carnage. Nor is the zeal of the Rajpoot

of this remark is furnished by the following passage from 'the Desatir,' an apochryphal work, purporting to be 'Sacred Writings of the Ancient 'Persian Prophets.' Though the work be a forgery, the conception of heaven will be admitted to be eminently Persian :—

'In the heavens there is pleasure such as none but those who enjoy 'it can conceive. The lowest degree of enjoyment in heaven is such as 'is felt by the poorest of men when he receives a gift equal to this whole 'lower world. Moreover, the pleasures that arise in it, from the beauty 'of wives, and handmaids, and slaves, from eating and drinking, from 'dress, and *fine carpets*, and commodious seats, is such as cannot be 'comprehended in this lower world. To the celestials, the bounty of the 'Most High Mezdam hath vouchsafed a body which admitteth not of 'separation, which doth not wax old, and is susceptible of neither pain 'nor defilement.

'In the name of Lareng !'

[1] *Vide* Ward's *Hindoos*, vol. i, Introduction, p. v.

chieftains less sustained by faith than that of the soldiers of the crescent, who—

Risk a life with little loss,
Secure in Paradise to be,
By Houris loved immortally.
[Byron, *Siege of Corinth*, xii.]

It is not, however, the death of the soldier [1] alone, which entitles to canonization as a Dev. He who dies at Broach, Prubhâs, Sidhpoor, or Aboo, attains to the heaven of Indra.[2] It is, however, the faithful only to whom these promises apply. *The wicked slaughterer of fish*, it is said, *daily beholds in vain the sanctifying streams of the Nerbudda.* He who settles annual grants upon priests carries with him to Paradise his father and mother, and the progenitors of both. The giver of 'bride-'gift' to Brahmins, obtains the joy of the Soors' dwelling for

[1] The following is extracted from an account given at the time by a French party who humanely employed themselves in relieving wounded Russian soldiers as they lay on the field of Inkermann:—'A Pole, 'belonging to the Foreign Legion, who happened to be present, asked 'some questions of the poor men. They informed him that their popes 'and their officers had assured them that the pagan enemies of the Holy 'Church of the Autocrat caused the Russian prisoners to be put to the 'most frightful torture, and that such of the children of the Czar as died 'in the sacred war would mount straight to Paradise, unless they were 'in a state of sin, and in which case they would be again born in their own 'country.'

[2] 'The most renowned site of these Mongol sepulchres is in the 'province of Chan-Si, by the famous Lama convent of the Five Towers; 'the ground is said to be so holy, that those who are interred there are 'sure to effect an excellent transmigration. This marvellous sanctity 'is attributed to the presence of old Buddha, who has had his abode 'there, within the centre of a mountain, for some ages. In 1842, Toko-'wra, of whom we have already spoken, transported thither the bones 'of his father and mother, and had, according to his own account, the 'happiness of viewing Buddha face to face, through a hole not larger 'than the mouth of a pipe. He is seated in the heart of the mountain, 'cross-legged, and doing nothing, surrounded by Lamas of all countries 'engaged in continual prostrations.

'In the deserts of Tartary, Mongols are frequently met with carrying 'on their shoulders the bones of their kindred, and journeying in caravans 'to the Five Towers, there to purchase, almost at its weight in gold, 'a few feet of earth whereon to erect a mausoleum. Some of them 'undertake a journey of a whole year's duration, and of excessive hard-'ship, to reach this holy spot.'—*Huc's Travels.*

his paternal ancestors ; he who has constructed a wâv, a well, a reservoir, a garden, or a house of Devs, or who repairs these, is admitted to Umurpoor, and the giver to Brahmins of mango trees or daily gifts is borne to that abode of happiness in a splendid chariot, upon which four servants sit to fan him with chámurs. They also attain to Swerga who offer their heads to Shiva in the lotus-worship, who take 'the terrible leap' from the summit of some consecrated cliff, who drown themselves in the holy waters of the Ganges, or commit suicide in any of those other modes which the Hindoo scriptures have invested with the character of meritoriousness. Of such self-sacrifices that of the Sutee is the most remarkable, as it has also been the most common. The wife who burns with the corpse of her lord lives with her husband as his consort in Paradise ; she procures admission also to that sacred abode for seven generations of her own and his progenitors, even though these should have been consigned, for the punishment of their own misdeeds, to the abodes of torture over which Yuma presides. 'While 'the pile is preparing,' is the exclamation of the Brumh Poorân, 'tell the faithful wife of the greatest duty of woman ; 'she is loyal and pure who burns herself with her husband's 'corpse.' And the Gurood Poorân declares that the Sutee lives with her husband in the unbroken felicity of Swerga for thirty-three millions of years, at the end of which period she is re-born in a noble family, and re-united to the same well-beloved lord.

Sometimes, instead of joining in the ring of mourners, the wife of the deceased sits awhile silent and stern. Presently, with wildly rolling eye and frantic gesture, she bursts forth into exclamations of 'Victory to Umbâ ! Victory to Run-'chor !' It is believed that 'Sut has come upon her,' that she is inspired, or rather has already assumed the nature of those who dwell in Swerga. The hands of the new Devee are impressed in vermilion upon the wall of her house as an omen of prosperity ; the same hands are imposed also upon the heads of her children. Her family and friends seek her benediction, and question her of the future ; her enemies strive, by submission, to avert her anger, or, trembling, hide themselves from her

curse. The raja and his chiefs approach her presence with offerings of cocoa-nuts and bridal vestments, she is set upon horseback, and, preceded by music, goes forth to accompany her husband to the pyre. Dressed in her most splendid garments, in procession such as that of marriage, she passes through the town, the people bending before her, and pressing to touch her feet. She cries, 'Quick! quick! my lord will chide my 'delay, he is already getting to a distance from me!' She is eager 'to join her lord through the flame.' 'Victory to 'Umbâ! Victory to Runchor!' is still her cry, and it is taken up by those around her. When she reaches the gate of the town, she makes the auspicious impression of her hands with vermilion upon its doors.

The pile of the Sutee is unusually large; heavy cart-wheels are placed upon it, to which her limbs are bound, or sometimes a canopy of massive logs is raised above it to crush her by its fall. She seats herself with her husband's head reclining in her lap, and undismayed by all the paraphernalia of torment and of death, herself sets fire to the pile. It is a fatal omen to hear the sound of the Sutee's groan; as, therefore, the fire springs up from the pile, there rises simultaneously with it a deafening shout of 'Victory to Umbâ! Victory to Runchor!' and the screaming horn and the hard rattling drum sound their loudest until the sacrifice is consummated.

These spectacles, so full of horror, are now, it is true, but rarely witnessed: they still, however, occur sometimes.[1] The rite was compulsory only in the case of Rajpoots; by some castes of Hindoos,—as, for instance, by the Nâgur Brahmins,—it was never practised at all.

Goozerat is covered with monuments, more or less permanent, pointing out the spots whence mortals have departed to Swerga. These are sometimes merely unhewn stones, smeared with red-lead, or heaps, such as we have described, loosely thrown together, but more usually engraved head-stones, either standing alone, or covered by the pavilions called Chutrees, and not unfrequently temples of greater or less size, which enclose

[1] On the 1st of October, 1853, the wife of the Wâghela chief of Âloowâ became a Sutee at that village, in the Guikowâr's district of Kuree.

an image of the Dev. The sculptured monuments are called 'pâleeyos.' They bear a rude representation of the deceased warrior mounted upon his war-horse, or driving his chariot, according to the circumstances which may have attended his fall. The pâleeyo of the Sutee is distinguished by a woman's arm adorned with marriage bracelets. A dagger piercing the heart or throat of a man often shows the spot where a Bhât has slain himself in Trâgâ. Beneath the sculptured bas-relief is written the name of the deceased, the date of the death, and usually an account of the circumstances which preceded it. These funeral monuments, frequently in great numbers, fringe the reservoirs of water, or cluster around the gateways of the towns. At each pâleeyo the relations of the deceased worship once a year, either on the anniversary of the death, or on some other day appointed for festival, and when a marriage takes place in the family thither the bride and bridegroom repair, to pay obeisance to their beatified ancestor.

Some of these monuments attain insensibly to a high degree of sanctity. If a person who has made a vow at one of them chance to obtain the object which he had in view, his gratitude leads him to spend money in entertaining Brahmins at the pâleeyo, or even in erecting a temple there. In either case the fame of the Dev is spread by those who are interested in maintaining it, and others are attracted to the now general worship.

The temple of the Devee Boucherâjee, as we have seen, grew up out of a rude stone placed to commemorate the death of a Chârun woman. Another much worshipped shrine in the Runn of Kutch, on the road from Hulwud to Âreesur, marks the place where Wurnâjee Purmâr, a Rajpoot chieftain, was slain in the garments of his hardly celebrated marriage, when pursuing a band of predatory Koolees who had carried off the cattle of his town. One of the most interesting, probably, of the later cases of canonization, is that of Sudoobâ the Bhâtun, which we now propose to describe to our readers.

In the year succeeding that in which the victor of Assaye had crushed the power of Napoleon, the city of Ahmed still owed a divided duty to the Peshwah and the Guikowâr, whose representatives held their respective courts in the two citadels

called the Budder and the Huwelee. At this time a set of men of bad character, called Chârdeeâs, followed in the city the trade of common informers. The Chârdeeâs were a source of revenue, and as the governments of that day had but one idea—that of filling their coffers by any and every means—they were esteemed by their rulers in proportion to the gain which was acquired through their agency. A common mode of extorting money, pursued by the Chârdeeâs, was that of accusing respectable women of loose behaviour. They sometimes also procured females of blemished characters to name as their paramours men of wealth, from whom the Hindoo rulers, on the ground of their immorality, exacted fines. Of these the Chârdeeâs retained a fixed share, but they also took care to secure perquisites of their own appointment.

The most notorious of these informers was a Wâneeo named Ootum, who lived in the division of the city called Shahpoor, near which is the Bhâtwârâ. This Chârdeeâ, it is said, attempted, without success, the virtue of Sudoobâ, the wife of a Bhât named Huree Singh. In revenge of his repulse he brought against her a false accusation of adultery, and having procured officers from the Peshwah's governor, proceeded one night to arrest her. The Bhâtun made many protestations of innocence, and ineffectually appealed to the mercy of the Chârdeeâ. He refused to forgo his gain and his revenge. The officers were dragging her away, when the terrified woman cried to her husband to preserve her honour by those dreadful means which the Bhâts well knew how to employ. Huree Singh, thus adjured, brought from his house his infant child, and killing it, hung it up in its cradle to the branch of a mango tree, which stands in the centre of Bhâtwârâ. Notwithstanding this sacrifice Ootum remained inflexible, and repeatedly ordered the officers to drag her along. Sudoobâ, driven to desperation, at last implored her husband to turn his sword upon herself. The fanatical Bhât, without hesitation, struck her head from her body.

The news spread as the night wore away, and the Bhâts and others who were accustomed to practice Trâgâ, assembled at the spot where the tragedy had been acted. They considered their own honour tarnished by the ill success of Huree Singh's

first resort to that peculiar means of compelling acquiescence with demands which they themselves might be next day forced to employ, and the sight of the corpses of Sudoobá and her child excited them to fury. Seizing whatever weapons first presented themselves they ran to destroy the Chárdeeás. By the time that morning broke a crowd of Bhâts was collected around the reservoir in front of the college of Azim Khân, and the once royal entrance to the Budder. Rámchunder Molelkur, the Peshwah's officer, became alarmed at the mass of people which had collected, and the heavy gates of the Budder were already swinging on their hinges, when Ootum, watching his opportunity, rushed into the citadel, and threw himself on the protection of the governor. Another celebrated Chârdeeâ, named Jeewun Joweyree, escaped, also, and found shelter in the Guikowâr's Huwelee. The whole of that day the Bhâts, fasting and thirsty, pursued the Chárdeeás. Some they beat, others they wounded, and a few they put to death. It is mentioned in a ballad which commemorates the event, that one Chârdeeâ, who had concealed himself in a well, was drawn up by the mob and torn to pieces.

The next day the Bhâts assembled at the Guikowâr's Huwelee, and shouted for the blood of Jeewun Joweyree. The commandant, who was a popular officer, remonstrated with them, entreating them not to dishonour his government by compelling him to surrender the Chárdeeâ, and promising that he would himself expel Jeewun Joweyree in a disgraceful manner from the city. In earnest of this he exhibited the Chârdeeâ to them bound, and with his face blackened. The Bhâts were appeased by the exhibition, and withdrew.

They were not, however, so easily induced to retire from the Budder, and the Peshwah's governor was compelled to seat Ootum on a donkey, and cause him to be conveyed, under the protection of a guard of soldiers, to the Kálápoor gate, from whence he was to be expelled the city. The mob followed the procession in silence until it had passed beyond the gate. They then pressed forward, and warned the Mahratta officers that it was high time they should secure their own retreat. The hint was not thrown away: the guard hurriedly retired, and the mob had now their victim in their hands. They cast him from

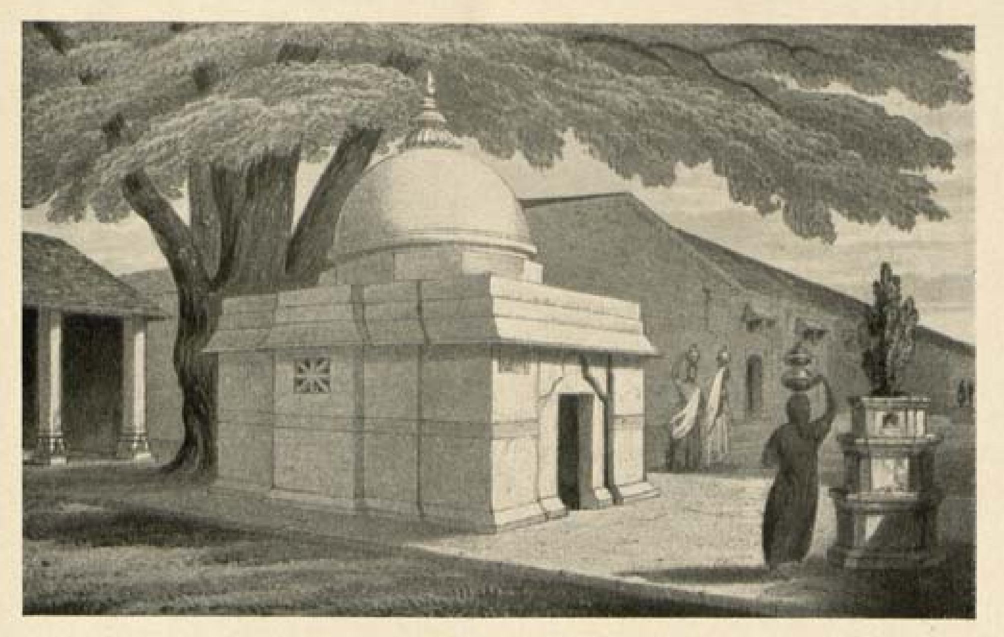
off the anima on which he rode, and stoned him to death, continuing to pile missile upon missile, until they had raised a heap above his corpse. Their work of vengeance thus completed, they dispersed to their own homes.

In July of the year following, as is recorded on a marble slab on the left hand of the entrance, a small temple rose upon the spot where the Bhâtun was sacrificed, and an image of Devee Sudoobâ was installed therein. The sacred basil-tree was planted before the shrine of the new denizen of paradise, and she who on earth was found incapable of protecting her reputation otherwise than by sacrificing her life, has become, through the virtues of the tree of Swerga, a dispenser of all earthly benefits to those who, with incense, burning of lamps, and offerings of scarlet garments, may be enabled to propitiate the favour of a protectress so powerful.

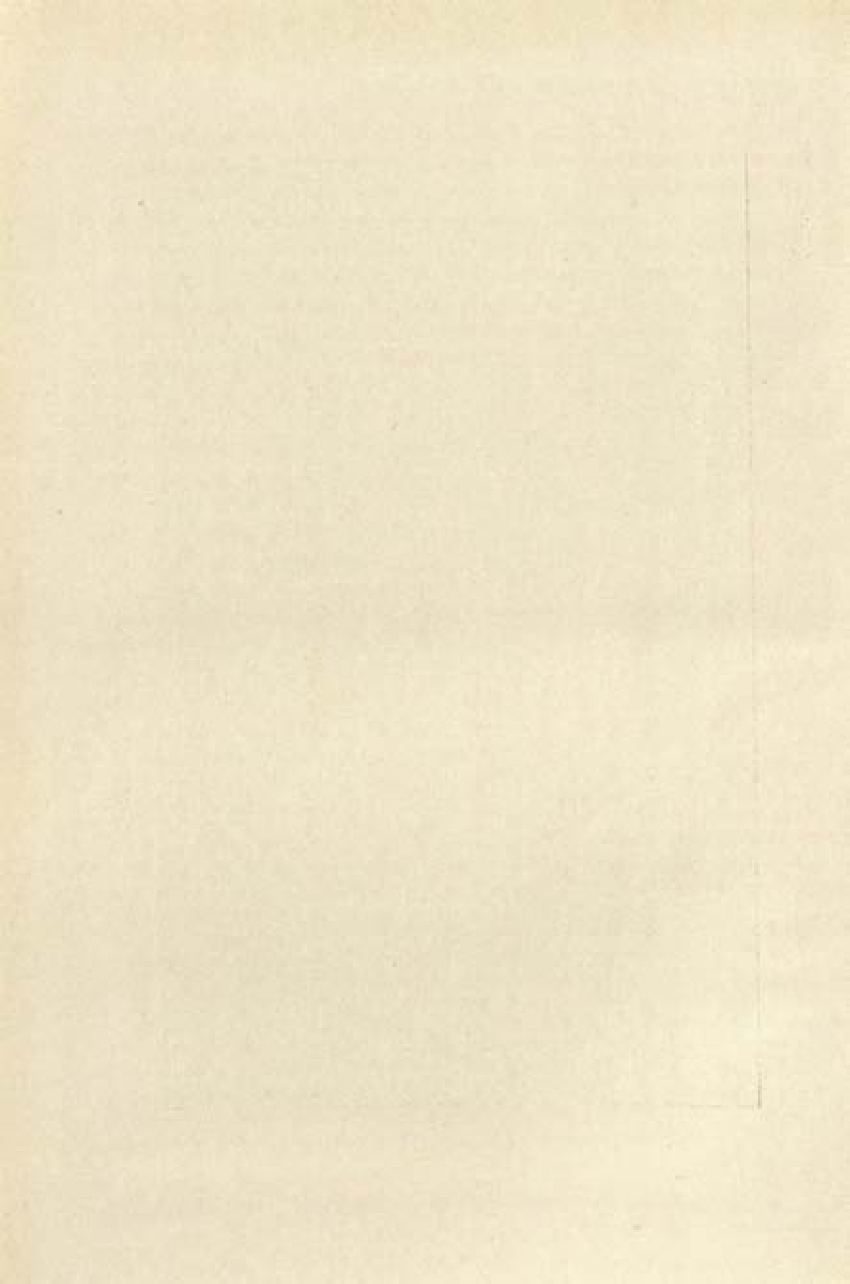
The souls of those whose virtues in their mortal existence have been of a higher character than such as entitle to the position of a Dev of Swerga, attain to Mooktee or emancipation. Indra's paradise, it would seem, bears to this higher heaven, a relation such as that which Valhalla bears to the Scandinavian Gimli,—the palace covered with gold, where, after the renovation of all things, the just enjoy delights for ever. Among those who pass to the habitation of the Mookt, Krishn has enumerated in the Gurood Poorân those who sacrifice their lives in defence of a Brahmin, a cow, a woman, or a child. He has further thus declared :—

Uyodhyâ, Muthoorâ, Mâyâ,
Kâshee, Kântee, Uwunteekâ,
Dwârâ-mutee-pooree, understand
The whole seven as moksh-procurers.
Where the Shâlagrâm stone is found,
Where a stone of Dwârâ-mutee,
Where both of these meet,
There is Mooktee, without doubt.

All living things, it is believed, possess three kinds of bodies —those called 'sthul,' 'sookshum,' and 'kârun,'—as well as the 'âtmâ' or soul. Of these bodies we can give our readers but a general description. The 'sthul' is the tangible body gifted with ten 'indreeyâs,' five of which are known to us



TEMPLE OF DEVEE SUDOOBA



as the five senses: it possesses also four 'untuhkuruns' or inner powers,—those of instinctive desire, perception, reflection, and self-perception or egotism 'uhunkâr.' The 'sookshum' body possesses the five senses, and the four 'untuhkuruns.' In the 'kârun' there are three 'goons' or qualities—'râjus,' 'tâmus,' and 'sâtwa'—which find their highest developments in the natures of Brumhâ, Shiva, and Vishnoo. The soul which has attained to separation from these three bodies reaches the state of the Mookt.[1]

[1] [According to Krishna in the *Gita*, Bk. xiv:—

'*Sattvan*, *Rajas* and *Tamas* so are named
The Qualities of Nature, "soothfastness,"
"Passion" and "Ignorance". These three bind down
The changeless spirit in the changeful flesh.

. . . .

When, watching life, the living man perceives
The only actors are the Qualities,
And knows what rules beyond the Qualities,
Then is he come nigh unto me!
The Soul,
Thus passing forth from the Three Qualities—
Whereby arise all bodies—overcomes
Birth, Death, Sorrow, and Age; and drinketh deep
The undying wine of Amrit.'

The Sāṃkhya system, 'conceives the Material First Cause, itself unintelligent, to have become developed, by a gradual process of evolution, into all the actual forms of the phenomenal Universe, except the souls. Its first emanation is *buddhi*, intelligence; whence springs *ahaṃkara*, consciousness (or 'conscious mind-matter,' Davies); thence the subtle elements of material forms, viz. five elementary particles (*tanmātra*) and eleven organs of sense; and finally, from the elementary particles, five elements. The souls have from all eternity been connected with Nature—having in the first place become invested with a subtle frame (*linga*—or *sukshma-śarīra*), consisting of seventeen principles, viz. intelligence, consciousness, elementary particles, and organs of sense and action, including mind. To account for the spontaneous development of matter, the system assumes the latter to consist of three constituents (*guṇa*), which are possessed of different qualities, viz. *sattva*, of pleasing qualities, such as 'goodness', lightness, luminosity; *rajas*, of pain-giving qualities, such as 'gloom', passion, activity; and '*tamas*', of deadening qualities, such as darkness, rigidity, dulness which, if not in a state of equipoise, cause unrest and development. Through all this course of development, the soul itself remains perfectly indifferent, its sole properties being those of purity and intelligence;

The Mookt themselves are divided into four classes,—those who have attained to 'sâmeepya,' or residence in the habitation of the divinity; 'sânniddhya,' or access to his presence; 'sâroopya,' or equality with, and 'sâyoojya,' or absolute incorporation in, the Supreme. The Mookt of the first three classes are no longer subject to transmigration, no longer amenable to the punishment of their sins, nor desirous of sensual pleasures as the reward of their virtue: they are, henceforth, incapable of sin. It is said, however, that they still retain some remnant of 'uhunkâr,' and that egotistic pride exposes them sometimes to the curse of the Supreme, which they expiate by residence for a limited term upon earth.

The Vedântee believes that the soul of the Mookt is incorporate with Pur-Brumh; the Shaivite, or Vaishnavite, that it dwells in Kyelâs or in Vyekoonth.[1]

the functions usually regarded as 'psychic' being due to the mechanical processes of the internal organs themselves evolved out of inanimate matter. Invested with its subtle frame, which accompanies it through the cycle of transmigration, the soul, for the sake of fruition, connects itself ever anew with Nature, thus as it were creating for itself ever new forms of material existence; and it is only on his attaining perfect knowledge, whereby the ever-changing modes of intelligence cease to be reflected on him, that the *Purusha* is liberated from the miseries of *Samsâra* and continues to exist in a state of absolute unconsciousness and detachment from matter.' J. Eggeling in *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., xxiv, 178.]

[1] There are eighteen Poorâns, of which ten are Shaivite and eight Vaishnavite; their doctrines are, of course, not always consistent with each other. The followers of Shiva regard Vishnoo as merely the first of his servants, and the votaries of Vishnoo similarly regard Shiva. The Hindoo sects may, for popular purposes, be reduced to these two, for the Vedântees have no great hold on the public mind, and the followers of the Shuktees, or female associates of the two great members of the triad, fall under the head of the disciples of either one or other of these. Both sects, it would seem, believe in Swerga, in Kyelâs, and in Vyekoonth, but the Shaivite regards Vyekoonth, and the Vaishnavite regards Kyelâs as merely a second Swerga. Each sect believes that the heaven of their opponents passes away with Indra's paradise at the Muhâ Prulây, but that their own heaven is not so much destroyed as re-created —Kyelâs merging into Muhâ Kyelâs and Vyekoonth being elevated into Go Lok.

The Hindoos, we may here remark, do not discompose themselves at the names of God, or Ullah, because they consider these expressions synonymous with Purumeshwur—the Supreme Being, that is to say,

Brumhâ dwells in Sutya Lok, surrounded by Reeshees and by minor gods. He is employed in creating men, and in recording human destiny. Vyekoonth is the seat of Vishnoo—the heaven which he quitted to assume the incarnate form of Râm. There sits the preserver of the world, enthroned with his consort Lukshmee, attended by Hunoomân, Gurood, and all the other beings whose names crowd his mythic story, and watched by Droov, the north star, the keeper of his royal gate. In Kyelâs dwells Shiva—his bride, the mysterious Doorgâ, by his side—and broods upon his endless task of world-destroying. Before him, habited like himself in ashes, their hair matted upon their heads, Gunesh and his goblin crew lead the frantic dance, and with mad orgies move the gloomy deity to smile.

When the four ages—of gold, of silver, of copper, and of iron—have each passed over one and seventy times, a reign of Indra is complete, and a new sovereign rules in Paradise. When fourteen Indras have ruled, a day of Brumhâ is at an end, and, as the night draws on, Swerga, Mrityoo-Lok, and Pâtâl vanish to re-appear in the morning. When the deity has lived one hundred years, then rages the Muhâ-Prulây—the great fire deluge which envelopes the universe in one crash of ruin.

As the smoke of this scene of awful tumult clears away, the imagination of the Hindoo sees arising beyond it the form of a new heaven, presided over by the God in whom he has centred his faith. The follower of the Preserver beholds a vision of Go-Lok, where Vishnoo in undisturbed sovereignty dwells—a four-armed deity. Thence it was that the greatest of incarnate gods, the divine Krishn, descended upon earth, and there, in the form of the shepherds and shepherdesses of Vruj, his

the Purumâtmâ, or Supreme Spirit of the Vedântee, the Shiva of the Shaivite, the Vishnoo of the Vaishnavite. This exalted being, they consider, does not interfere immediately in the affairs of men—no question of scripture is necessarily brought forward by the introduction of his name. But when the names of Jesus Christ or Mohummed are employed, the case is different; the Hindoos understand these to refer to some man who appeared on this earth, whom Mlech believe to be of similar nature with Râm or Krishn, and the belief in whom is necessarily inconsistent with the belief in their own scriptures.

votaries are now assembled to dance for ever in the henceforth uninterrupted circle of Vrindâbun. The worshipper of the Destroyer, on the other hand, realizes to himself the eternal rest of Muhâ Kyelâs, as yet but symbolized by the unutterable silence of loftiest Himalaya, where, freed from the bonds of a troubled and too often recurring mortal life—a life which yet, in reminiscence, seems to him to have been but momentary—his soul is to find peace in amalgamation with the Being from whom it proceeded, as the reflexion of the moon appearing for a while upon the rippling surface of a lake is suddenly withdrawn to heaven, or as a bubble for a moment is distinguishable, and then bursts upon the ocean-bosom of the One Supreme.[1]

[1] [The dew is on the Lotus, rise, great Sun,
And lift my leaf and mix me with the wave.
Om mani padmi hum, the sunrise comes!
The dewdrop slips into the shining sea!
Light of Asia, fin.]

INDEX AND GLOSSARY

ABBREVIATIONS

[A., Arabic ; G., Gujarâti ; H., Hindi ; M., Marâṭhi ; P., Persian ; S., Sanskrit ; T., Turkish.]



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MARWAR
Sirohi
Punauli
Aravalli Hills
MEWAR
Udaipur
Guru Sikhar
Abu
Rohera
Girwar
Posina
W. Banas R.
Deesa
Palanpur
Danta
RANN OF CUTCH
24
Taranga
Pal
Pal
Dethli
Sidhpur
Kheralu
Undhai
Idar
Radhanpur
R. Saraswati
Patan
Vadnagar
Hathmati R.
Dungarpur
Visnagar
Vaghel
Ahmadnagar
Adesar
R. Rupen
Mudhera
Vijapur
Banswara
Kanthkot
Panchasar
Kansagar
Parantij
CUTCH
Bhuj
Bachau
LITTLE RANN
Jhinjhuvada
Bechraji
Sadra
Kari
R. Sabarmati
Pethapur
Patri
Dehgam
Lunavada
Malia
Halvad
Viramgam
Mahi R.
Dhrangadhra
Sanand
Ahmadabad
Mandvi
GUJARAT
MALWA
Lakhtar
L. Nal
Morvi
JHALAWAR
Kaira
GULF OF CUTCH
Dholka
Nadiad
Wadhwan
Matar
Gangad
Koth
Vindhya Mts
Dhar
Wankaner
Muli
Limbdi
Sayla
Bet
Navanagar
Chuda
Champaner
Chotila
Dhandhuka
Umeta
Mandu
Dwarka
Rajkot
Ranpur
Cambay
Baroda
Sardhar
Botad
Dabhoi
22
Jasdan
Gondal
KATHIAWAR
Vala
Narbada R.
Dhank
Limdi
Bhaunagar
Sukaltirth
Bhalod
Broach
Dharaji
Jetpur
Lathi
Sihor
Raj Pipla
ARABIAN SEA
Gogha
Anklesvar
Injadri Mts
Junagarh
Gariadhar
Palitana
Piram I.
Nandurbar
Sultanpur
Wanthali
Talaja
Tapti R.
Gopinath
KHANDESH
Surat
Sangard
Mahuva
Somnath
Gandevi
Chikhli
Diu
GULF OF CAMBAY
Daman
MAP TO ILLUSTRATE
RAS MALA
Scale of Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50 100
Longitude East of Greenwich

